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INDIAN HISTORY

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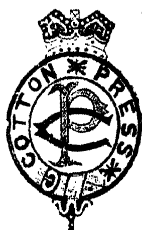
PART III.

THE BRITISH PERIOD

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PREFACE.

PART III.

THE BRITISH PERIOD.

THIS little book shows how the English East India Company grew into a governing power. Clive's victories led to the acquisition of Bengal; and the possession of the sea-ports and of the rich provinces of the Ganges, made it possible to extend the British rule alike in northern and southern India. The English were thus enabled to establish a general peace among the Indian races. Internal wars and frontier invasions ceased. But while the greater part of the country passed under British administration, extensive states and territories were also left to native rulers. A military Mutiny interrupted the course of progress, and led to the transfer of the government from the Company to the Crown. As the India of the Mughal Empire had given place to the India of the East India Company, so the India of the Company developed into the India of the Queen.

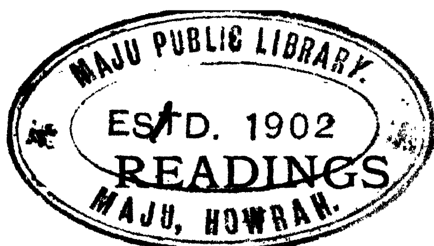
OAKEN HOLT NEAR OXFORD.
5, APRIL, 1899.

W. W. HUNTER.

CONTENTS.

PART III.

The British Period.



INDIAN HISTORY

PART III

I

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS 1498 TO 18TH CENTURY.

THE Muhammadan invaders of India had entered from the north-west. Her Christian conquerors approached by sea from the south. From the time of Alexander the Great (327 B.C.) to that of Vasco da Gama (1498 A.D.) Europe held little direct intercourse with the East. An occasional traveller brought back stories of powerful kingdoms and of untold wealth; but the passage by sea was scarcely dreamed of, and by land, wide deserts and warlike tribes lay between. Commerce, indeed, struggled overland and *viâ* the Red Sea. It was carried on chiefly through Egypt, although partly also across Syria, under the Roman Empire; and in later mediæval times by the Italian cities on the Mediterranean, which traded to the ports of the Levant. But to the Europeans of the 15th century, India was an unknown land, which powerfully attracted the imagination of spirits stimulated by the Renaissance, and ardent for discovery.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus sailed westward under the Spanish flag to seek India beyond the Atlantic, bearing with him a letter to the great Khan of Tartary He found

America instead. An exppedition consisting of three ships, under Vasco da Gama, started from Lisbon five years later, in the south-eastern direction. It doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and cast anchor off the city of Calicut on the 20th May, 1498, after a protracted voyage of nearly eleven months. An earlier Portuguese emissary, Covilham, had reached Calicut overland about 1487. From the first, Da Gama encountered hostility from the Moors, or rather Arabs, who monopolized the sea-borne trade, and influenced the Zamorin, or Hindu Rájá of Calicut against the newcomers.

After staying nearly six months on the Malabar coast, Da Gama returned to Europe, bearing with him the following letter from the Zamorin to the king of Portugal: 'Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of your household, has visited my kingdom and has given me great pleasure. In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral, and scarlet.' The safe arrival of Da Gama at Lisbon was celebrated with national rejoicings as enthusiastic as those which had greeted the return of Columbus. If the West Indies belonged to Spain by priority of discovery, Portugal might claim the East Indies by the same right. The Portuguese mind became intoxicated by dreams of a mighty Oriental Empire.

The early Portuguese navigators were not traders or private adventurers, but admirals with a royal commission to open up a direct commerce with Asia, and to purchase Eastern commodities on behalf of the King of Portugal. A second expedition, consisting thirteen ships and seven

hundred soldiers, under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral, was despatched in 1500. On his outward voyage, Cabral was driven westward by stress of weather, and discovered Brazil. Ultimately he reached Calicut. He established a factory, or agency for the purchase of goods there; but as soon as he left Calicut, the factor was murdered by the Muhammadan merchants. In spite of this disaster, he left a factor behind him at Cochin, when he returned to Portugal.

In 1502, the King of Portugal obtained from Pope Alexander VI. a bull constituting him 'Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India.' In that year Vasco da Gama sailed again to the East, with a fleet numbering twenty vessels. He formed alliances with the Rájás of Cochin and Cannanore, and the Ráni of Quilon, and bombarded the Zamorin of Calicut in his palace. In 1503, the great Alfonso de Albuquerque sailed to the East in command of one of three expeditions from Portugal. The Portuguese arrived only just in time to succour the Rájá of Cochin, who was being besieged by the Zamorin of Calicut. They built a fort at Cochin, and to guard against any future disaster, left 150 Portuguese soldiers under Duarte Pacheco to defend their ally. When they departed, the Zamorin, or Hindu Rájá of Calicut again attacked Cochin, but he was defeated by Pacheco both by land and sea, and the prestige of the Portuguese was by these victories raised to its height.

In 1505, a large fleet of twenty sail and fifteen hundred men was sent under Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of India. Almeida was the first Portuguese statesman in India to develop a distinct policy. He saw

that, in the face of the opposition of the Muhammadan merchants, whose monopoly was infringed, it was necessary to fortify factories in India, in which to carry on trade. But he wished these forts to be as few as possible, and that the chief power of Portugal should be on the sea. Almeida had also a new danger to meet. The Sultan of Egypt perceived that the discovery of the direct sea-route from Europe to India round the Cape of Good Hope was ruining the transit trade through Egypt. He therefore despatched a fleet to exterminate the Portuguese forces in Asia. The Sultán's admiral won a victory off Chaul, in 1508, in which Almeida's son was killed; but on the 2nd February, 1509, the Egyptians were utterly defeated off the island of Diu. The danger of a general union of the Moslems against the Portuguese was thus averted for the time, and the quarrels between the Turks and Egyptians which ensued gave time for the Christians to firmly consolidate their power in India.

In 1509, Albuquerque succeeded as Governor and widely extended the area of Portuguese influence. He abandoned the system of Almeida, and resolved to establish a Portuguese Empire in India, based on the possession of important points along the coast, and on playing off the native princes against each other. Having failed in an attack upon Calicut, he in 1510 seized Goa, which has since remained the capital of Portuguese India. Then, sailing round Ceylon, he captured Malacca, the key to the navigation of the Indian Archipelago, and opened a trade with Siam and the Spice Islands. Lastly, he sailed back westward, and, after penetrating into the Red sea and taking Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, returned to Goa only

to die in 1515. In 1524, Vasco da Gama came out to the East for the third time, and he too died at Cochin, after a rule of only three months. For exactly a century, from 1500 to 1600, the Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of Oriental trade. 'From Japan and the Spice Islands to the Red Sea and the Cape of Good Hope, they were the sole masters and dispensers of the treasures of the East; while their possessions along the Atlantic coast of Africa and in Brazil completed their maritime Empire.'

But the Portuguese had neither the political strength nor the personal character necessary to maintain such an Empire. Their national temper had been formed in their contest with the Moors at home. They were not traders, but knights-errant and crusaders, who looked on every pagan as an enemy of Portugal and of Christ. Only those who have read the contemporary narratives of their conquests, can realize the superstition and the cruelty with which their history in the Indies is stained.

Albuquerque alone endeavoured to conciliate the good-will of the natives, and to live in friendship with the Hindu princes, who were better pleased to have the Portuguese, as firmly governed by him, for their neighbours and allies, than the Muhammadans whom he had expelled or subdued. The justice and magnanimity of his rule did as much to extend and confirm the power of the Portuguese in the East, as his courage and the success of his military achievements. In such veneration was his memory held, that the Hindus of Goa, and even the Muhammadans, were wont to repair to his tomb, and there utter their complaints, as if in the presence of his shade, and call upon God to deliver them from the tyranny of his successors.

Yet these successors were not all tyrants. Some of them were great statesmen ; many were gallant soldiers. The names of four of them stand out brightly in the history of the Portuguese in India. Nuno da Cunha, Governor from 1528 to 1538, first opened up direct and regular trade with Bengal. Joáo de Castro, who ruled from 1545 to 1548, was no unworthy countryman of Albuqueque and Da Cunha. He relieved Diu, which again had to stand a siege by the King of Gujarát, whom he defeated in one of the greatest victories ever won by the Portuguese in India. He had also to defend Goa against the King of Bijápur, and with similar successes. But it was not only as a warrior, but as a statesman that Joáo de Castro won his fame. In the three short years of his government he tried to reform the errors of the Portuguese colonial system.

Constantino de Braganza, a prince of the royal house of Portugal, attempted, and not without some success, to take up the task which had proved too hard for De Castro, during his rule from 1558 to 1561. But he is better remembered as the conqueror of Damán, one of the places still belonging to Portugal. Luis de Athaide, who was Viceroy from 1568 to 1571, and from 1578 to 1581, had during his first viceroyalty to meet a formidable league of opponents. The defeat of the Hindu Rájá of Vijayanagar at Talikot in 1565, left the Muhammadan princes of the Deccan at liberty to act against the Portuguese. A great league was formed by them, which included even the half-savage King of Achin. All the Portuguese Settlements on the Malabar coast as well as Malacca were besieged by overwhelming forces. But

the Portuguese commanders rose to the occasion. Everywhere they were triumphant. The Viceroy, in 1570, defended Goa for ten months against the King of Bijápur, and eventually repulsed him ; the undisciplined Indian troops were unable to stand against the veteran soldiers of Portugal ; 200 of whom, at Malacca, routed 15,000 natives with artillery. When, in 1578, Malacca was again besieged by the King of Achín, the small Portuguese garrison destroyed 10,000 of his men, and all the Achín cannon and junks. Twice again, in 1615 and for the last time in 1628, Malacca was besieged, and on each occasion the Achínese were repulsed with equal bravery. But the increased military forces sent out to resist these attacks proved an insupportable drain on the revenues and population of Portugal.

In 1580, the Portuguese Crown was united with that of Spain, under Philip II. This proved the ruin of the maritime and commercial supremacy of Portugal in the East. The interests of Portugal in Asia were henceforth subordinated to the European interests of Spain ; and the enemies of Spain, the Dutch and the English, preyed on the Portuguese as well as on the Spanish commerce. In 1640, Portugal again became a separate kingdom. But in the meanwhile the Dutch and English had appeared in the Eastern Seas ; and before their indomitable competition, the Portuguese empire of the Indies withered away as rapidly as it had sprung up. The period of the highest development of Portuguese commerce was probably from 1590 to 1610, and the eve of the subversion of their commercial power by the Dutch, and when their political administration in India was at its lowest

depth of degradation. At this period a single fleet of Portuguese merchantmen sailing from Goa to Cambay or Surat would number as many as 150 or 250 *carracks.* Now, only one Portuguese ship sails from Lisbon to Goa in the year.

The Dutch besieged Goa in 1603, and again in 1639. Both attacks were unsuccessful on land; but the Portuguese were gradually driven off the sea. In 1683 the Maráthás plundered to the gates of Goa, and in 1739 they sacked Bassein, the Northern capital. The further history of the Portuguese in India is a miserable chronicle of pride, poverty, and sounding titles. The native princes pressed upon them from the land. On the sea they gave way to more vigorous European nations.

The only remaining Portuguese possessions in India are Goa, Damán, and Diu, all on the west coast, with a total area of 2,365 square miles, and a total population (Native and European), of 561,384 in 1891.

The Dutch were the first European nation who broke through the Portuguese monopoly. During the 16th century, Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam became successively the great emporiums whence Indian produce, imported by the Portuguese, was distributed to Germany, and even to England. At first the Dutch, following in the track of the English, attempted to find their way to India by sailing round the northern coast of Europe and Asia. William Barents is honourably known as the leader of three of these arctic expeditions, in the last of which he perished.

The first Dutchman to double the Cape of Good Hope was Cornelius Houtman, who reached Sumatra and

Bantam in 1596. Forthwith private companies for trade with the East were formed in many parts of the United Provinces; but in 1602 they were all amalgamated by the States-General into 'The Dutch East India Company.' Within fifty years the Dutch had established factories on continent of India, in Ceylon, in Sumatra, in the Persian Gulf, and in the Red Sea, besides having obtained exclusive possession of the Moluccas. In 1619 they laid the foundation of the city of Batavia in Java, as the seat of the supreme government of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, which had previously been at Amboyna. At about the same time the Dutch discovered the coast of Australia; while in North America they founded the city of New Amsterdam or Manhattan, now New York.

During the 17th century the Dutch were the foremost maritime power in the world. Their memorable massacre of the English at Amboyna, in 1623, forced the British Company to retire from the Eastern Archipelago to the continent of India, and thus led to the foundation of our Indian Empire. The long naval wars and bloody battles between the English and the Dutch within the narrow seas were not terminated until William of Orange united the two countries in 1689. In the Eastern Archipelago the Dutch ruled without a rival, and expelled the Portuguese from almost all their territorial possessions. In 1635 they occupied Formosa; in 1640 they took Malacca, a blow from which the Portuguese never recovered; in 1647 they were trading at Sadras, on the Pálár river; in 1651 they founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, as a half-way station to the East; in 1652 they built their first Indian factory at Pálakollu, on the

Madras coast; in 1658 they captured Jaffnapatam, the last stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon. Between 1661 and 1664 the Dutch wrested from the Portuguese all these their earlier Settlements on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar; and in 1669 they expelled the Portuguese from St. Thomé and Macassar.

The fall of the Dutch colonial empire resulted from its short-sighted comercial policy. It was deliberately based upon a monopoly of the trade in spices, and remained from first to last destitue of sound economical principles. Like the Phœnicians of old, the Dutch stopped short of no acts of cruelty towards their rivals in commerce; but, unlike the Phœnicians, they failed to introduce their civilisation among the natives with whom they came in contact. The knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive, when in 1759 he attacked the Dutch at Chinsurah both by land and water, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. During the great French wars between 1795 and 1811, England wrested from Holland every one of her colonies; although Java was restored in 1816, and Sumatra exchanged for Malacca in 1824.

At present, the Dutch flag flies nowhere on the mainland of India. But quaint houses, Dutch tiles and carvings, at Chinsurah, Negapatam, Jaffnapatam and at petty ports on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, with the formal canals in some of these old Settlements, remind the traveller of scenes in the Netherlands.

The earliest English attempts to reach India were made by the North-west passage. In 1496, Henry VII. granted letters patent to John Cabot and his three sons (one of whom was the famous Sebastian) to fit out two ships for

the exploration of this route. They failed, but discovered the island of Newfoundland, and sailed along the coast of America from Labrador to Virginia. In 1553, the ill-fated Sir Hugh Willoughby attempted to force a passage along the north of Europe and Asia, the successful accomplishment of which has been reserved for a Swedish savant of our own day. Sir Hugh perished miserably ; but his second in command, Chancellor, reached a harbour on the White Sea, now Archangel. Thence he penetrated by land to the court of the Grand Duke of Moscow, and laid the foundation of 'the Russia Company for carrying on the overland trade between India, Persia, Bokhara, and Moscow.'

Many English attempts were made to find a North-west passage to the East Indies, from 1576 to 1616. They have left on our modern maps the imperishable names of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin. Meanwhile, in 1577, Sir Francis Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and on his way home had touched at Ternate, one of the Moluccas, the king of which island agreed to supply the English nation with all the cloves which it produced.

The first modern Englishman known to have visited the Indian peninsula was Thomas Stephens, in 1579. William of Malmesbury states, indeed, that in 883 Sighelmus of Sherborne, sent by King Alfred to Rome with presents to the Pope, proceeded thence to 'India,' to the tomb of St. Thomas, and brought back jewels and spices. But, it by no means follows that the 'India' of William of Malmesbury meant the Indian peninsula. Stephens (1579) was educated at New College, Oxford, and became Rector of the Jesuit College in Salsette.

His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India.

In 1583, three English merchants, Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and Leedes, went out to India overland as mercantile adventurers. The jealous Portuguese threw them into prison at Ormuz, and again at Goa. At length Newberry settled down as a shopkeeper at Goa; Leedes entered the service of the Great Mughal; and Fitch, after a lengthened peregrination in Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Mulacca, and other parts of the East Indies, returned to England.

The defeat of the 'Invincible Armada' in 1588, at which time the Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, gave a fresh stimulus to maritime enterprise in England; and the successful voyage of the Dutch Cornelius Houtman in 1596 showed the way round the Cape of Good Hope, into waters hitherto monopolized by the Portuguese.

In 1599 the merchants of London held a meeting on the 22nd September at Founders' Hall, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, and agreed to form an Association for the purposes of trading directly with India. Queen Elizabeth also sent Sir John Mildenhall by Constantinople to the Great Mughal to apply for privileges for an English Company. On the 31st December, 1600, the English East India Company was incorporated by Royal Charter, under the title of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.' The original Company had only 125 shareholders, and a capital of £70,000, which was raised to £400,000 in 1612-13, when voyages were first undertaken on the joint-stock account.

Courten's Association, known as 'The Assada Merchants,' from a factory subsequently founded by it in Madagascar, was established in 1635, but, after a period of internecine rivalry, was united with the London Company in 1650. In 1654-55, the 'Company of Merchant Adventurers' obtained a Charter from Cromwell to trade with India, but united with the original Company two years later. A more formidable rival subsequently appeared in the English Company, or 'General Society trading to the East Indies,' which was incorporated under powerful patronage in 1698, with a capital of 2 millions sterling. According to Evelyn, in his *Diary* for March 5, 1698, 'the Old East India Company lost their business against the new Company by ten votes in Parliament; so many of their friends being absent going to see a tiger baited by dogs.' However, a compromise was effected through the arbitration of Lord Godolphin in 1708, by which the amalgamation of the 'London' and the 'English' Companies was finally carried out in 1709, under the style of 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.' About the same time, the Company advanced loans to the English Government aggregating £3,200,000 at 5 per cent. interest, in return for the exclusive privilege to trade to all places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

The early voyages of the Company from 1600 to 1612 are distinguished as the 'separate voyages,' twelve in number. The subscribers individually bore the expenses of each voyage, and reaped the whole profits. With the exception of the fourth, all these separate voyages were

highly prosperous, the profits hardly ever falling below 100 per cent. After 1612, the voyages were conducted on the joint-stock account.

The English were promptly opposed by the Portuguese. But James Lancaster, even in the first voyage (1601-2), established commercial relations with the King of Achín and at Priaman in the island of Sumatra; as well as with the Moluccas, and at Bantam in Java, where he settled a 'House of Trade' in 1603. In 1604, the Company undertook their second voyage, commanded by Sir Henry Middleton, who extended their trade to Banda and Amboyna. The success of these voyages attracted a number of private merchants to the business; and in 1606, James I. granted a licence to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to trade 'to Cathay, China, Japan, Corea, and Cambaya.' But Michelborne, on arriving in the East, instead of exploring new sources of commerce like the East India Company, followed the pernicious example of the Portuguese, and plundered the native traders among the islands of the Indian Archipelago. He in this way secured a considerable booty, but brought disgrace on the British name, and seriously hindered the Company's business at Bantam.

In 1608, Captain D. Middleton, in command of the fifth voyage, was prevented by the Dutch from trading at Banda, but succeeded in obtaining a cargo at Pulo Way. In this year also, Captain Hawkins proceeded from Surat, as envoy from James I. and the East India Company, to the court of the Great Mughal. He was graciously received by the Emperor (Jahángír) and remained three years at Agra. In 1609, Captain Sharpay obtained the

grant of free trade at Aden, and a cargo of pepper at Priaman in Sumatra. In 1609, also, the Company constructed the dockyard at Deptford, which was the beginning, observes Sir William Monson, 'of the increase of great ships in England.' In 1611, Sir Henry Middleton, in command of the sixth voyage, arrived before Cambay. He resolutely fought the Portuguese, who tried to beat him off, and obtained important concessions from the Native Powers. In 1610–11, also, Captain Hippon, commanding the seventh voyage, established agencies at Masulipatam and in Siam, at Patania or Patany on the Malay Peninsula, and at Pettipollee. We obtained leave to trade at Surat in 1612.

In 1615, the Company's fleet, under Captain Best, was attacked off Swally, the port of Surat, at the mouth of the river Tápti, by an overwhelming force of Portuguese. But the assailants were utterly defeated in four engagements, to the astonishment of the natives, who had hitherto considered them invincible. The first fruit of this decisive victory was the pre-eminence of our factory at Surat, with subordinate agencies at Gogra, Ahmadábád, and Cambay. Trade was also opened with Persian Gulf. In 1614, an agency was established at Ajmere by Mr. Edwards of the Surat factory. The chief seat of the Company's government in Western India remained at Surat until 1684-87, when it was transferred to Bombay.

In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I. as ambassador to the court of Jahángír, and succeeded in placing the Company's trade in the Mughal dominions on a more favourable footing. In 1618, the English established a factory at Mocha; but the Dutch compelled

them to resign all pretensions to the Spice Islands. In that year also, the Company failed in its attempt to open a trade with Dábhol, Baticála, and Calicut, through a want of sincerity on the part of the Zamorin, or Calicut Rájá. In 1619 we were permitted to establish a factory and build a fort at Jask in the Persian Gulf.

In 1619, the 'Treaty of Defence' with the Dutch, to pervent disputes between the English and Dutch Companies, was ratified. When it was proclaimed in the East, the Dutch and English fleets, dressed out in all their flags, and with yards manned, saluted each other. But the treaty ended in the smoke of that stately salutation, and the perpetual strife between the Dutch and English Companies went on as bitterly as ever. Up to this time, the English Company did not possess any territory in sovereign right in the 'Indies,' excepting in the island of Lantore or Great Banda. The island was governed by a commercial agent of the Company, who had under him thirty Europeans as clerks and warehousemen. This little band, with 250 armed Malays, constituted the only force by which it was protected. In the islands of Banda and Pulo Roon and Rosengyn, the English Company had factories, at each of which were ten agents. At Macassar and Achín they possessed agencies; the whole being subordinate to a head factory at Bantam in Java.

In 1620, the Dutch, notwithstanding the Treaty of Defence concluded the previous year, expelled the English from Pulo Roon and Lantore; and in 1621 from Bantam in Java. The fugitive factors tried to establish themselves, first at Pulicat, and afterwards at Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, but were effectually

opposed by the Dutch. In 1620, the Portuguese also attacked the English fleet under Captain Shillinge, but were defeated with great loss. From this time the estimation in which the Portuguese were held by the natives declined, while that of the English rose. In 1620, too, the English Company established agencies at Agrá and Patná. In 1622 they joined with the Persians, attacked and took Ormuz from the Portuguese, and obtained from Sháh Abbás a grant in perpetuity of the customs of Gombroon. This was the first time that the English took the offensive against the Portuguese. In the same year, 1622, our Company succeeded in re-establishing their factory at Masulipatam.

The massacre of Amboyna, which made so deep an impression on the English mind, marked the climax of the Dutch hatred to us in the Eastern seas. After long and bitter recriminations, the Dutch seized our Captain Towerson at Amboyna, with 9 Englishmen, 9 Japanese, and 1 Portuguese sailor, on the 17th February, 1623. They tortured the prisoners at their trial, and found them guilty of a conspiracy to surprise the garrison. The victims were executed in the heat of passion, and their torture and judicial murder led to an outburst of indignation in England. Ultimately, commissioners were appointed to adjust the claims of the two nations; and the Dutch had to pay a sum of £3,615 as satisfaction to the heirs of those who had suffered. But from that time the Dutch remained masters of Lantore and the neighbouring islands. They monopolized the whole of the Indian Archipelago, until the great naval wars which commenced in 1793. In 1624, the English, unable to

oppose the Dutch, withdrew nearly all their factories from the Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, Siam, and Java. Some of the factors and agents retired to the island of Lagundy, in the Strait of Sunda, but were forced by its unhealthiness to abandon it.

Driven out of the Eastern Archipelago by the Dutch, and thus almost cut off from the lucrative spice trade, the English betook themselves in earnest to founding Settlements on the Indian seaboard. In 1626-26, the English established a factory at Armagáon on the Coromandel coast, subordinate to Masulipatam. But in 1628, Masulipatam was, in consequence of the oppressions of the native governors, for a time abandoned in favour of Armagáon, which now mounted 12 guns, and had 23 factors and agents. In 1629, our factory at Bantam in Java was re-established as an agency subordinate to Surat; and in 1630, Armagáon, reinforced by 20 soldiers, was also placed under the Presidency of Surat. In 1632, the English factory was re-established at Masulipatam, under a grant, the 'Golden Firman,' from the King of Golconda. In 1634, by a *farmán* dated February 2, the Company obtained from the Great Mughal liberty to trade in Bengal. But their ships were to resort only to Pippli in Orissa, now left far inland by the sea. The Portuguese were in the same year expelled for a time from Bengal.

In 1634-35, the English factory at Bantam in Java was again raised to an independent Presidency, and an agency was established at Tatta, or 'Scindy.' In 1637, Courten's Association (chartered 1635) settled agencies at Goa, Baticála, Kárwár, Achín, and Ráiápur. Its ships had the

year before plundered some native vessels at Surat and Diu. This act disgraced the Company with the Mughal authorities (who could not comprehend the distinction between the Company and the Association), and depressed the English trade with Surat, while that of the Dutch proportionately increased.

In 1638, Armagáon was abandoned as unsuited for commerce; and in 1639, Fort St. George, or Madaraspatam (Chennapatam), was founded by Francis Day, and the factors at Armagáon were removed to it. It was made subordinate to Bantam in Java, until raised in 1653 to the rank of a Presidency. In 1640, the Company established an agency at Bussorah, and a factory at Kárwár. Trade having much extended, the Company's yard at Deptford was found too small for their ships, and they purchased some copyhold ground at Blackwall, which at that time was a waste marsh, without an inhabitant. Here they opened another dockyard, in which was built the *Royal George*, of 1200 tons, the largest ship up to that time constructed in England.

Our factory at Húglí in Bengal was established in 1640 and at Balasor in 1642. In 1645, in consequence of professional services rendered by Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the *Hopewell*, to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, additional privileges were granted to the Company; and in 1646, the Governor of Bengal, who had also been medically attended by Boughton, made concessions which placed the factories at Balasor and Húglí on a more favourable footing. In 1647, Courten's Association established its colony at Assada, in Madagascar. In 1652, Cromwell declared war against the Dutch on

account of their accumulated injuries against the English Company. In 1653, the English factory at Lucknow was withdrawn. No record has been found of his establishment. In 1658, the Company established a factory at Kásimbázár (spelt 'Castle Bazar in the records), and the English establishments in Bengal were made subordinate to Fort St. George, or Madras instead of to Bantam.

In 1661, Bombay was ceded to the British Crown as part of the dower of Catharine of Braganza, but was not delivered up until 1665. King Charles II. transferred it to the East India Company, for an annual payment of £10, in 1668. The seat of the Western Presidency was removed to it from Surat in 1684-87. The Company's establishments in the East Indies thus consisted in 1665 of the Presidency of Bantam in Java, with its dependencies of Jambí, Macassar, and minor agencies in the Indian Archipelago; Fort St. George and its dependent factories on the Coromandel coast and Bengal, Surat, with its affiliated dependency of Bombay; and factories at Broach, Ahmadábád, and other places in Western India; also at Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) and Bussorah in the Persian Gulf and Euphrates valley. In 1661, the factory at Biliapatam was founded. In 1663, the English factories established at Patná, Balasor, and Kásimbázár were ordered to be discontinued, and purchases to be made only at Húglí. In 1664, Surat was pillaged by the Maráthá Sivají, but Sir George Oxenden bravely defended the English factory, and the Mughal Emperor, in admiration of his conduct, granted the Company an exemption from customs for one year.

In 1681, Bengal was separated from Madras, and Mr (afterwards Sir William) Hedges arrived at Húglí, the chief Bengal factory, in July, 1682, as the newly-appointed 'agent and governor' of the Company's affairs 'in the Bay of Bengal, and of the factories subordinate to it, at Kásimbázár, Patná, Balasor, Maldah, and Dacca, A corporal of approved fidelity, with 20 soldiers, to be a guard to the agent's person at the factory of Húglí, and to act against interlopers.' Mr. Hedges' Diary, from the signing of his commission in November, 1681, to his return to England in April, 1687, has been edited, with valuable notes and commentaries, by the late Sir Henry Yule, and presents a very remarkable picture of life and government in India at the close of the 17th century. In 1684, Sir John Child was made 'Captain-General and Admiral of India;' and Sir John Wyborne, 'Vice-Admiral and Deputy-Governor of Bombay.' In 1687, the seat of the Presidency was finally transferred from Surat to Bombay. In 1686, Kásimbázár, in common with the other English factories in Bengal, had been condemned to confiscation by the Nawáb Sháistá Khán. The Húglí factory was much oppressed, and the Company's business throughout India suffered from the wars of the Mughals and Maráthás.

In 1687-88, the Company's servants, broken in spirit by the oppressions of the native Viceroy, determined to abandon their factories in Bengal. In 1688, Captain Heath of the *Resolution*, in command of the Company's forces, embarked all its servants and goods, sailed down the Húglí, and anchored off Balasor on the Orissa coast. They were, however, soon invited to return by the

Emperor, who granted them the site of the present city of Calcutta for a fortified factory. In 1689, our factories at Vizagapatam and Masulipatam on the Madras coast were seized by the Muhammadans, and the factors were massacred.

But in the same year the Company determined to consolidate their positon in India on the basis of territorial sovereignty, to enable them to resist the oppression of the Mughals and Maráthás. With that view, they passed the resolution which was destined to turn their clerks and factors throughout India into conquerors and proconsuls: 'The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India. Without that we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's Royal Charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us. And upon this account it is, that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade.'

The Portuguese at no time attempted to found a Company, but kept their Eastern trade as a royal enterprise and monopoly. The first incorporated Company was the English, established in 1600, which was quickly followed by the Dutch in 1602. The Dutch conquests, however, were made in the name of the State, and ranked as national colonies, not as semi-commercial possessions.

Next came the French, whose first East India Company was founded in 1604; the second, in 1611; the third, in 1615; the fourth (Richelieu's), in 1642; the fifth (Colbert's), in 1694. The early French Companies consisted of trading adventurers, who left no establishments in India; and when, after the troublous period of the Fronde, Louis XIV. became firmly seated on the throne of France, it was to the Mauritius and Madagascar that the king's ministers looked for a field for commercial expansion. The Mauritius was occupied in 1652, and an attempt was made to form Settlements in Madagascar. Colbert, however, hoped to win a share in the profitable Indian trade, and the fifth French East India Company was founded by him in 1664, with the intention of rivalling the success of the English and the Dutch in India itself. Pondicherri was acquired in 1674, and Chandernagar in 1688; but want of support from France brought the Company's affairs in India to a very low ebb, and the Company felt obliged to cede its right of monopoly to some enterprising merchants of Saint-Malo. The brilliant schemes of Law drew fresh attention to the Indian trade, and the powers, possessions, and assets of Colbert's Company were taken over by his great Company of the West, which is chiefly remembered by its project of developing the colony of Louisiana in America. On the downfall of Law, a sixth East India Company was formed by the union of the French East and West India, Senegal, and the China Companies, under the name of 'The Perpetual Company of the Indies,' in 1719. The exclusive privileges of this Company were, by the French king's decree, suspended in

1769; and the Company was finally abolished by the National Assemby in 1790.

Dumas and Dupleix, who were successively governors of the French factories and possessions in India, first conceived the idea of founding an Indian Empire upon the ruins of the Mughal dynasty; and for a time the French nation successfully contended with the English for the supermacy in the East. The French Settlements in India are still five in number, with an area of 203 square miles, and a population of 282,923 souls in 1891.

The first Danish East India Company was formed in 1612, and the second in 1670. The Settlements of Tranquebar and Serampur were both founded in 1616, acquired by the English by purchase from Denmark in 1845. Other Danish Settlements on the mainland of India were Porto Novo; Eddova and Holcheri on the on the Malabar coast. The Company started by the Scotch in 1695 may be regarded as having been still-born. The 'Royal Company of the Philippine Islands,' incorporated by the King of Spain in 1733, had little to do with India proper.

Of more importance was 'The Ostend Compay,' incorporated by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1722; its factors and agents being chiefly persons who had served in the Dutch and English Companies. The Ostend Company formed the one great attempt of the German Empire, then with Austria at his head, to secure a share of the Indian trade. It not only sent ships, but it founded two Settlements in India which threatened the commerce of the older European Companies. One of its

Settlements was at Coblom or Covelong, between the English Madras and the Dutch Sadras, on the south-eastern coast. The other was at Bánkípur, or 'Banky-bazar,' on the Húglí river, between the English Calcutta and the Dutch Chinsurah. Each of these German Settlements was regarded with hatred by the English and Dutch; and with a more intense fear by the less successful French, whose adjacent Settlements at Pondicherri on the Madras coast, and at Chandernagar on the Húglí, were also threatened by the Ostend Company.

The Dutch and English felt themselves particularly aggrieved. They pleaded the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht. After long and loud altercations, the Emperor sacrificed the Ostend Company in 1727 to gain the acceptance of a project nearer his heart—the Pragmatic Sanction for the devolution of his hereditary dominions. To save his honour, the sacrifice at first took the form of a suspension of the Company's Charter for seven years. But the Company was doomed by the Maritime Powers. Its shareholders did not, however, despair. They made attempts to transfer their European centre of trade to Hamburg, Trieste, Tuscany, and even Sweden. After a miserable struggle the Ostend Company was finally extinguished by the arrangements made at the renewal of the English East India Company's Charter in 1793.

What the Emperor of Austria had failed to effect, Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, resolved to accomplish. Having got possession of East Friesland in 1744, he tried to convert its capital, Embden, into a great northern port. Among other measures, he gave his royal patronage to the Asiatic Trading Company, started 1st

September, 1750, and founded the *Bengalische Handelsgesellschaft* on the 24th January, 1753. The first of these Companies had a capital of £170,625; but six ships sent successively to China only defrayed their own expenses, and yielded a profit of 10 per cent. in seven years. The Bengal Company of Embden proved still more unfortunate; its existence was summed up in two expeditions which did not pay, and a long and costly lawsuit.

The failure of Frederick the Great's efforts to secure for Prussia a share in the Indian trade, resulted to some extent from the jealousy of the rival European Companies in India. Dutch, French, and English pilots refused to show the way of the dangerous Húglí river to the Embden ships, 'or any other not belonging to Powers already established in India.' It is due to the European Companies to state that in thus refusing pilots to the new-comers, they were carrying out the orders of the Native Government of Bengal to which they were then strictly subject. 'If the Germans come here,' the Nawáb had written to the English merchants on a rumour of the first Embden expedition reaching India, 'it will be very bad for all the Europeans, but for you worst of all, and you will afterwards repent it; and I shall be obliged to stop all your trade and business....Therefore take care that these German ships do not come.' 'God forbid that they should come,' was the pious response of the President of the English Council; 'but should this be the case, I am in hopes they will be either sunk, broke, or destroyed.'

They came, nevertheless, and some years later the English Court of Directors complain that their Bengal

servants are anxious to trade privately with the Embden Company. 'If any of the Prussian ships,' wrote the Court, 'want the usual assistance of water, provisions, or real necessaries, they are to be supplied according to the customs of nations in amity one with the other. But you are on no pretence whatsoever to have any dealings with them, or give the least assistance in their mercantile affairs.' The truth is that the German Company had effected an entrance into Bengal, and found the French, English, and Dutch merchants quite willing to trade with it on their private account. But the German investments were made without experience, and the Embden Company was before long sacrificed by the Prussian king to the exigencies of his European diplomacy.

The last nation of Europe to engage in maritime trade with India was Sweden. When the Ostend Company was suspended, a number of its servants were thrown out of employment. Mr. Henry Köning, of Stockholm, took advantage of their knowledge of the East, and obtained a Charter for the 'Swedish Company,' dated 13th June, 1731. This Company was reorganized in 1806, but did little; and, after many troubles, disappeared from India.

Such is a summary of the efforts by European nations to obtain a share in the Indian trade. The Portuguese failed, because they attempted a task altogether beyond their strength; the conquest and the conversion of India. Their memorials are the epic of the Lusiads, the death-roll of the Inquisition, an indigent half-caste population, and three decayed patches of territory on the Bombay coast. The Dutch failed on the Indian continent, because

their trade was based on a monopoly which it was impossible to maintain, except by great and costly armaments. Their monopoly, however, still flourishes in their isolated island dominion of Java. The French failed, in spite of the brilliancy of their arms and the genius of their generals, from want of steady support at home. Their ablest Indian servants fell victims to a corrupt court and a careless people. Their surviving Settlements disclose that talent for careful administration, which, but for French monarchs and their ministers and their mistresses, might have been displayed throughout a wide Indian Empire.

The German Companies, whether Austrian, or Prussian, were sacrificed to the diplomatic necessities of their royal patrons in Europe; and to the dependence of the German States in the wars of the last century upon the Maritime Powers. But the Germans have never abandoned the struggle. The share in the Indian trade which Prussian King and Austrian Kaiser failed to grasp in the 18th century, has been gradually acquired by German merchants in our own day. An important part of the commerce of Calcutta and Bombay is now conducted by German firms; German mercantile agents are to be found in the rice district, the jute districts, the cotton districts; and persons of German nationality have rapidly increased in the Indian Census returns.

England emerged the prize-winner from the long contest of the European nations for India. Her success was partly the good gift of fortune, but chiefly the result of four elements in the national character. There was—first, a marvellous patience and self-restraint in refusing

to enter on territorial conquests or projects of Indian aggrandizement, until she had gathered strength enough to succeed. Second, an indomitable persistence in those projects once they were entered on; and a total incapacity, on the part of her servants in India, of being stopped by defeat. Third, an admirable mutual confidence of the Company's servants in each other in times of trouble. Fourth, and chief of all, the resolute support of the English nation at home. England has never doubted that she must retrieve, at whatever strain to herself, every disaster which may befall Englishmen in India; and she has never sacrificed the work of her Indian servants to the exigencies of her diplomacy in Europe. She was the only European Power which unconsciously but absolutely carried out these two principles of policy. The result of that policy, pursued during two and a half centuries, is the British India of to-day.

[From SIR W. W. HUNTER'S *Indian Empire*.]

II.

The Founding of the East India Company.
1600–1613.

Two centuries have elapsed, since a few British merchants humbly solicited permission of the Indian princes to traffic in their dominions. The Portuguesse had formed important establishments in India, before the British offered themselves as competitors for the riches of the East. From the time when Vasco da Gama, distinguished his nation by discovering the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, a whole century had elapsed, during which, without a rival, the Portuguese had enjoyed, and abused, the advantages of superior knowledge and art, amid a feeble and half civilized people. They had explored the Indian Ocean, as far as Japan; had discovered its islands, rich with some of the favourite productions of nature, had achieved the most brilliant conquests, and, by their commerce, poured into Europe, in unexampled profusion, those commodities of the East, on which the nations at the time set an extraordinary value.

The circumstances of this splendid fortune had violently attracted the attention of Europe. The commerce of India, even when confined to those narrow limits which a carriage by land had prescribed, was supposed to have elevated feeble states into great ones; and to have constituted an enviable part in the fortune even of the most opulent and powerful; to have contributed largely to support the Grecian monarchies both in Syria and Egypt; to have retarded the downfall of Constantinople;

and to have raised the small and obscure republic of Venice to the rank and influence of the most potent kingdoms. The discovery therefore of a new channel for this opulent traffic, and the happy experience of the Portuguese, inflamed the cupidity of all the maritime nations of Europe, and set before them the most tempting prospects.

An active spirit of commerce had already begun to display itself in England. The nation had happily obtained its full share of the improvement which had dawned in Europe ; and the tranquil and economical reign of Elizabeth had been favourable both to the accumulation of capital, and to those projects of private emolument on which the spirit of commerce depends. A brisk trade, and of considerable extent, had been carried on during the greater part of the sixteenth century with the Netherlands, at that time the most improved and commercial part of Europe. The merchants of Bristol had opened a traffic with the Canary Islands ; those of Plymouth with the coasts of Guinea and Brazil ; the English now fished on the banks of Newfoundland ; and explored the sea of Spitzbergen, for the sovereign of the waters : they engrossed, by an exclusive privilege, the commerce of Russia : they took an active part in the trade of the Mediterranean : the company of merchant adventurers pushed so vigorously the traffic with Germany and the central parts of Europe, as highly to excite the jealousy of the Hans Towns : and the protestant inhabitants of the Netherlands and France, flying from the persecutions of their own oppressive and bigoted Governments, augmented the commercial

resources of England by the capital and skill of a large importation of the most ingenious and industrious people in Europe.

While the English fluctuated between desire and execution, the Dutch, in 1595, boldly sent four ships to trade with India by the Cape of Good Hope. This exploit added fuel, at once, to the jealousy, and to the ambition of the English. In 1599 an association was formed, and a fund subscribed. It was agreed to petition the Queen for a warrant to fit out three ships, and export bullion, and also for a charter of privileges. The approbation of government was readily signified; but as a treaty was then pending, with Spain, policy appeared to counsel delay.

Towards the end of the year 1600 the efforts of the adventurers were renewed; and the consent of government was obtained to proceed in preparations for an Indian Voyage, while the patent of incorporations was still under consideration, on the 31st of December the charter of privileges was obtained.

A first and experimental attempt was naturally unproductive of any remarkable result: but the first voyage of the East India Company was not discouraging. The first place in India to which they repaired was Achín, a principal city in the Island of Sumatra, at which they were favourably received. They formed a treaty of of commerce with the chief or sovereign of the place; obtained permission to erect a factory; and, having taken on board a quantity of pepper, set sail for the Moluccas. In the Straits of Malacca they captured a Portuguese vessel of 900 tons burden, carrying calicoes

and spices, which sufficed to lade the fleet. They diverted their course, therefore, to Bantam in the Island of Java; where the captain, delivering his letters and presents, and meeting with a favourable reception, left some agents, the first rudiments of the company's factories and returned to England, where he arrived, in September 1603, with a handsome profit to his owners on the capital of the voyage.

The earliest of the company's voyages were exclusively directed to the Islands in the Indian Ocean, as Sumatra, Java, and Amboyna, the returns being raw silk, fine calicoes indigo, cloves, and mace. In 1608, the factors at Bantam and in the Moluccas reported that the cloth and calicoes imported from the continent of India were in great request in the Islands; and recommended the opening of a trade at Surat and Cambaya, to supply them with those commodities, which might be exchanged, with extraordinary profit, for the spices and other productions of the Islands. To profit by these advantages, the fleet which sailed under the orders of Sir Henry Middleton, in 1609, was directed to steer for the Western coast of the Asiatic continent, where they made several attempts to establish a commercial intercourse. At Aden and Mocha they were opposed by the Turks; who surprised one of the ships, and made the captain and seventy men prisoners. On the coast of India their endeavours were frustrated by the influence of the Portuguese. A fleet which sailed in 1611 had better success. Attacked at Swally, a place at no great distance from Surat, by a large Portuguese armament, it made a successful defence; and notwithstanding the intrigues

and efforts of the Portuguese, obtained a favourable reception at Surat. The English now succeeded in forming a commercial arrangement. They obtained permission to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedábad, Cambaya, and Gogá, which were pointed out, by the agents of the company, as the best situations; and agreeing to pay a duty of 3½ per cent, received assurance, that this should be the only exaction to which their merchandise should be subject; that protection should be afforded to their factories; and that their property, even in the case of the death of their agents, should be secured till the arrival of another fleet. A firman or decree of the Emperor, conferring these privileges, was received on the 11th of January, 1613; and authorised the first establishment of the English on the continent of India, at that time the seat of one of the most extensive and splendid monarchies on the surface of the globe.

[Extracts from JAMES MILL'S *History of British India.*]

III.

THE GROWTH OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

1613–1749.

THROUGHOUT the early part of the eighteenth century the Mogul empire was in a state of dissolution. The commercial supremacy of the Portuguese had yielded to that of the Dutch, which latter in its turn had begun to manifest unequivocal symptoms of decline. Two other European nations were preparing to contend for the power and influence which were ready to pass out of the hands of those too feeble to retain it, and the

enmity of centuries was to find a new field for its development in an Indian war between the English and the French.

The first appearance of the English in India gave no promise of their future granduer. The London East India Company, established solely for the purposes of trade, was incorporated towards the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth. Bantam, in Java, for the trade of the Indian Islands, and Surat, for that of the continent were long their principal stations. On the Coromandel coast they first established themselves at Masulipatam, subsequently at Armegum, and finally at Madraspatam, where, by the favour of a native prince, they obtained permission to erect a fortification, which received the name of Fort St. George. Tegnapatam, on the same coast, which was purchased from another native prince, was, in like manner, fortified, and became a station of some importance under the name of Fort St. David. On the opposite coast the island of Bombay, which had been ceded to the British crown as part of the marriage portion of Catherine of Portugal, Queen of Charles the Second, was, by that sovereign, granted to the Company, and in process of time it superseded Surat as their principal station on the western coast. In Bengal their progress was slow and subject to frequent checks. They, however, succeeded in establishing various factories, of which that of Húglí was the chief, but for the most part they were dependent on Fort St. George. In the year 1700, the villages of Chutanutte, Govindpore, and Calcutta, having been obtained by means of a large present to Azim, grandson of Aurungzebe, the new acquisitions were declared a

presidency. They were forthwith fortified, and in compliment to the reigning sovereign of England, the settlement received the name of Fort William. Thus was the foundation laid of the future capital of British India.

Late in the year 1744, war was declared between France and England, and soon after the declaration a British fleet was despatched to India, which, after cruising with some success, appeared off the coast of Coromandel threatening Pondichery. In consequence, however, of intervention of the Nawáb of the Carnátic and the fears of the British Government of Madras, it retired without effecting or even attempting anything against the French settlement. The appearance of a British fleet in the Indian seas was soon followed by that of a French Squadron, commanded by La Bourdonnais, a man whose name is eminent in the history of the brief and inglorious career of his countrymen in the East. After some encounters of no great importance, but in which the English had the advantage, the French fleet attacked the British settlement of Madras. As the Nawáb had interfered to protect the French possession of Pondichery from the English, and had assured the latter that he would in like manner enforce the neutrality of the French, application was made for the fulfilment of his promise; but it was not accompanied by that species of advocacy, and it was, consequently, disregarded. The result was disastrous; the town was forced to capitulate, the goods of the company, part of the military stores and all the naval stores, were confiscated, and a treaty was signed pledging the British to further payments, in consideration of the evacuation of the town. The period, however, for performing this stipulation was extended, in

consequence of the intrigues of Dupleix, Governor of Pondichery, who claimed, in virtue of that office, supreme authority over all the French possessions on India. The peace of Aix la Chapelle restored Madras to the English, who resumed possession in August, 1749.

[Extracts from EDWARD THORNTON'S *History of the British Empire in India.* ALLEN.]

IV.

THE SIEGE OF ARCOT.

1751

[In 1751 two native princes, Mahommed Ali and Chunda Sahib, were striving for the position of Nawáb, or Nabob, of the Carnatic. The former was supported by the English the latter by the French. In August Clive captured Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, but was immediately attacked by a combined force of French and Indian troops amounting to about ten thousand men, under the command of Rájáh Sahib son of Chunda Sahib.]

RAJA SAHIB proceeded to invest the fort of Arcot, which seemed quite incapable of sustaining a siege. The walls were ruinous, the ditches dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The little garrison had been greatly reduced by casualties. It now consisted of a hundred and twenty Europeans and two hundred sepoys. Only four officers were left; the stock of provisions was scanty and the commander, [Clive] who had to conduct the defence under circumstances so discouraging, was a young man of five-and-twenty, who had been bred a book-keeper.

During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defence, with a firmness, vigilance and ability, which would have done honour to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach, however, increased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination; and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, colour, language, manners and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed anything that is related of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, or of the old guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came to Clive, not to complain of their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said, which was strained away from the rice, would suffice for themselves. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind.

An attempt made by the Government of Madras to relieve the place had failed. But there was hope from another quarter. A body of six thousand Máhráttás, half soldiers, half robbers, under the command of a chief Morárí Row, had been hired to assist Mahommed Ali; but thinking the French power irresistible, and the triumph of Chunda Sahib certain, they had hitherto remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. The fame of Arcot roused them from their torpor. Morárí Row declared that he had never before believed that Englishmen

could fight, but that he would willingly help themselves. Rájáh Sahib learned that the Máhráttás were in motion. It was necessary for him to be expeditious. He first tried negotiation. He offered large bribes to Clive, which were rejected with scorn. He vowed that if his proposals were not accepted, he would instantly storm the fort, and put every man in it to the sword. Clive told him in reply with characteristic haughtiness, that his father was an usurper, that his army was a rabble, and that he would do well to think twice before he sent such poltroons into a breach defended by English soldiers.

Rájáh Sahib determined to storm the fort. The day was well suited to a bold military enterprise. It was the great Mahommedan festival which is sacred to the momory of Hosein, the son of Ali. The history of Islam contains nothing more touching than the event which gave rise to that solemnity. The mournful legend relates how the chief of the Fatimites, when all his brave followers had perished round him, drank his latest draught of water, and uttered his latest prayer, how assassins carried his head in triumph, how the tyrant smote the lifeless lips with his staff, and how a few old men recollected with tears that they had seen those lips pressed to the lips of the Prophet of God. After lapse of near twelve centuries, the recurrence of this solemn season excites the fiercest and saddest emotions in the bosoms of the devout Moslem of India. They work themselves up to such agonies of rage and lamentation that some, it is said, have given up the ghost from the mere effect of mental excitement. They believe that whoever, during this festival, falls in arms against the infidels, atones by

his death for all the sins of his life, and passes at once to the garden of the Houris. It was at this time that Rájá Sahib determined to assault Arcot. Stimulating drugs were employed to aid the effect of religious zeal, and the besiegers drunk with enthusiasm, drunk with bang, rushed furiously to the attack.

Clive had received secret intelligence of the design, had made his arrangements, and exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm, and was instantly at his post. The enemy advanced, driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would yield to the shock of these living battering-rams. But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English musket-balls than they turned round and rushed furiously away, trampling on the multitude which had urged them forward. A raft was launched on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive, perceiving that his gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and cleared the raft in few minutes. Where the moat was dry the assailants mounted with great boldness; but they were received with a fire so heavy and so well directed, that it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and intoxication. The rear ranks of the English kept the fornt ranks supplied with a constant succession of loaded musket, and every shot told on the living mass below. After three desperate onsets, the besiegers retired behind the ditch.

The struggle lasted, about an hour. Four hundred of the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six

men. The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But when day broke, the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

[Extracts from MACAULAY'S *Essay on Lord Clive*. LONGMANS.]

V.

THE FALL OF DUPLEIX.

1754.

IT is impossible to deny to Dupleix the possession of some of the greatest qualities with which man has ever been endowed. He was a great administrator, a diplomatist of the highest order, a splendid organiser, a man who possessed supremely the power of influencing others. He had an intellect quick and subtle, yet large and capable of grasping; an energy that nothing could abate; a persistence, a determination, that were proof against every shock of fortune. He possessed a noble, generous, and sympathising nature; he was utterly incapable of envy or jealousy; and endowed besides with that equanimity of temper that enabled him to bear the greatest reverses, the most cruel injustice towards himself, with resignation and composure. He was not indeed a general. He did not possess the taste for leading armies into the field. Yet he showed on many occasions—notably on the occasion of the siege of Pondichery by Boscawen—that he could not only stand fire, but could defeat by his unassisted and natural skill all the efforts of

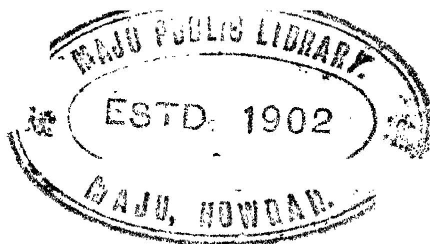
the enemy. The character of his government and the influence of his own presence are attested to by the English historian of that epoch, writing, as he was, under the spell of the prejudices of the period. "All his countrymen," writes Mr. Orme, "concurred in thinking that his dismission from the government of Pondichery was the greatest detriment that could have happened to their interests in India." In was on October 14, 1754, that Dupleix bade adieu to the country of his greatness. Baffled as he had been in his large schemes, ruined as he was known to have been by the measures of Godeheu, he was yet in spite of the declared hostility of that personage, followed to the place of embarkation by the principal officers and *employés* of Pondichery, and by all the common people. Their generous hearts spoke out in the universal feeling of regret at his departure. Their grief was far more eloquent, infinitely more expessive, than would have been the smiles of a Pompadour!

Very briefly we propose to follow the disgraced governor to his last hour. Before he had landed in France, the minister, Machault, fearing in the then state of European politics, the result in India of the recall of Dupleix, and hoping it might not have been actually accomplished, had sent to Dupleix a despatch in which he affected to treat him as governor, Godeheu merely as commissary of the king to make peace. This despatch reached Pondichery after Dupleix had left it, though it had been expedited by the minister in the hope that it would prevent his departure. His arrival, therefore, in France was looked upon in the light of a misfortune, and it appeared for some time not improbable that he might even be reinstated in

his post. He was, therefore, well received and flattered with hopes of a settlement of his claims as soon, however, as the intelligence of the disgraceful peace made by Godeheu reached France, and the disagreements with England were consequently regarded as settled, the ministry at once began to treat Dupleix as a man from whom nothing more could be hoped, but who, on his part, would importune them with claims. They, therefore, or rather, acting with them, the Directors of the Company, at once changed their manner towards him, and absolutely refused to take his accounts into consideration. In vain did he remonstrate. In vain did he point out that he was persecuted by creditors who were simply creditors, because, on his security they had advanced their funds to the Government of Pondichery. In vain did he write a memoir, setting forth in a modest but graphic style, all he had done, the sums of money he had advanced. For seven years he urged and pressed his claims, supporting them by incontestable proofs. He received not even the shadow of redress. Nay, more. Many of those whom he had befriended in his prosperity, and who had advanced sums to the Pondichery Government, sued him for repayment. Even Bussy, who was to have been his stepson, deserted him in his extremity, broke off the marriage, and appeared in the list of claimants against him. To such a state of misery was he reduced, that, three months before he died, his home was in the occupation of bailiffs. Three days before that sad event, he thus wrote in his memoir: "I have sacrificed my youth, my fortune, my life, to enrich my nation in Asia. Unfortunate friends,

too weak relations, devoted all their property to the success of my projects. They are now in misery and want. I have submitted to all the judiciary forms ; I have demanded as the last of the creditors, that which is due to me. My services are treated as fables ; my demand is denounced as ridiculous ; I am treated as the vilest of mankind. I am in the most deplorable indigence ; the little property that remained to me has been seized. I am compelled to ask for decrees for delay in order not to be dragged into prison." Thus wrote, three days before he died, the man who had had done for France more than all her kings, beside whose exploits the deeds of her Condé, her Villars, her Turenne, sink into insignificance. The founder of an empire treated as the vilest of mankind, his just claims unattended to then, unsettled even to this day ; the man who acquired for France territories in the East larger than France herself, treated as an importunate impostor ! Not long could even his brave spirit endure such a contest. He died on November 10, 1764.

[From MALLESON'S *History of the French in India.* ALLEN]



VI.

The Black hole of Calcutta.

1756.

[Ali Vardi Khan, the last of the great Nawábs of Bengal (1740–56) grows old without having a son to whom to leave his rulership.]

Accordingly, when three years before his death he saw the necessity, owing to age and infirmities, of nominating his successor to the subáship, his choice fell on his favourtite grandson, who was also his grand nephew. To him he at once delegated the practical government of the provinces in supercession of his two uncles, and to the consternation of many influential subjects. For in truth the object of the old man's dotage was badly equipped for ruling. He had been a spoiled child from infancy, brought up in his grand-father's palace as an over-indulged little despot, surrounded by profligate favourites. He grew up in ignorance, seeing nothing and hearing nothing except through the eyes and ears of his barbarous and corrupt environment. It would have been strange if his early manhood had not been marked by evil temper and by a disposition at once cruel and revengeful. His name was Murza Muhammad, but he is better known to his title of Siráj ud Dawla (lamp of the State).

On the death of the Nawáb at the age of eighty-two in April, 1756, this youth, then about twenty-two, ascended the musnud. After his three years' de facto introduction to the rule, his actual elevation was sullenly acquiesced in by the nobles at Murshidábád, more readily per-

haps as his provident grand-father had left him an army, which might prove useful in case of his accession being disputed. Immediately after being proclaimed, the new Nawáb was not slow to find reasons for quarrelling with the English settled in Bengal; in furtherance, probably, of a long-formed design founded on the anticipation of getting possession of the vast wealth which rumour credited them with having accumulated. He set out for Calcutta by forced marches so at to get over the ground before the daily expected rains should delay his progress. This so-called fort (of Calcutta) was unprotected by any ditch or out-work, and was quite commanded on the land faces by the houses nearest to it. Poor as the defensive arrangements were at the best, their insufficiency was intensified by the state of disrepair into which they had been allowed to fall. The terraces had become so shaky as to preclude the use of the slightest guns on them, and their parapets were too low for the effective employment of musketry. Heavy fire, therefore, was restricted to the bastions and main gate, but even there the embrasures were dangerously wide. To ventilate the chambers against the east curtain several windows had been struck out, "so many breaches made for the enemy."

The garrison proper at this time consisted of about 250 men including Eurasians and native "Portuguese." The European element barely amounted to 60 soldiers and gunners. None had any active military training. Their experience was limited to guard and sentry duty and to the escorting the company's merchandise to and fro, by land or by river, between head quarters and the out

factories. All the inhabitants, therefore (including the seafaring people who would be spared from the vessels in port), capable of bearing arms were enrolled as militia and formed into two companies. "About 50 persons," says a resident, "detached themselves from the militia and entered volunteers among the military to remain during the troubles, 34 of these were company's servants." Counting these, the militia numbered about 260, largely made up, however, of Armenians, Portuguese and slaves. We get a tolerably close idea of what the small European population of Calcutta was at this time when told that between the military proper and the militia not more than 180 Europeans could be mustered.

Early on the 16th of June, 1756, the approach of the enemy was announced. The captors were in possession of the fort about six o'clock in the evening of the 20th of June. The number of people who became prisoners, on the fort falling into the enemy's hands, was one hundred and forty-six; they consisted of those who had borne arms, and were of all sorts and conditions, black, brown, and white. Most accounts agree that there was only one woman amongst them. Many of this shattered remnant were wounded; all were in a state of exhaustion. When it was dark they were directed to collect all, without distinction, under the arched verandah and to sit down quietly in one body. This they did, their backs being turned to the barracks and its prison, and their faces looking out west towards the parade ground of the fort, where "were drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted torches." At this time the factory buildings were on fire to the right and left of the

collected prisoners, and as the flames advanced towards them they apprehended that their death by suffocation and fire was designed. This fear was strengthened by their seeing, about half past seven, some officers with torches going into the chambers at their right and at their backs, as though they intended to set those on fire also. A hasty determination was come to "of rushing on their guards, seizing their scymitars, and attacking the troops on the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted alive." Before attempting this, Holwell [one of the junior members of Council] went back to the torch-bearers, and found that they were merely looking for a place to secure the prisoners in for the night. What occurred immediately, after this had better be given in Holwell's own words :—

"We observed part of the guard drawn up on the parade advance to us with the officers who had been viewing the rooms. They ordered us all to rise, and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartment in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet wall, and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southernmost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black Hole prison ; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scymitars, pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the

door of the Black Hole prison, there was no resisting it, but, like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; the rest following like a torrent, few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen; for if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice cut to pieces."

The following incident occurred just before they were locked up :—

"Here I must detain you a little to do honour to the memory of a man to whom I had in many instances been a friend, and who on this occasion demonstrated his sensibility of it in a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was Leech, the company's smith, as well as clerk of the parish; this man had made his escape when the Moors entered the fort, and returned just as it was dark to tell me he had provided a boat, and would ensure my escape if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very slight notice of us). I thanked him in the best terms I was able, but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shewn to me; and that I resolved to share their fate, be it what would but preessed him to secure his own escape without loss of time, to which he gallantly replied that then he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me." This

noble fellow's gratitude and fidelity cost his life; he died in the Black Hole.

The night was the hottest and sultriest of the whole year, that immediately before the first fall of the monsoon rained in torrents. When the heat and smoke proceeding on fire all around are taken into account besides, no estimate coming up to reality can be formed of what the stifling temperature must have been. "Nothing in history or fiction approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night."

What Holwell's experience was, may be summarised thus: On realizing the trap they were in, he still acted as their chief, and besought them to try and keep calm, as the only chance of escape from death. At first they listened to his entreaty, and nothing was heard save the cries and groans wrung from the many wounded. He next promised money to an old Jamadar of the guard to try and get the door opened or the prisoners divided; this could not be done. In a few minutes all were streaming with perspiration, giving rise to intolerable thirst. Many expedients were proposed as a possible means of getting more room, or some movement of air. All, save Holwell and two or three next him, got out of their clothes. An attempt was made to sit and rise alternately at the word of command but this proved fatal to the weaker captives who, so tightly were they wedged, had not strength to struggle to their feet again, and were trampled to death by their stronger neighbours. From time to time fruitless efforts were made to force the door. In about an hour all except

those at the windows, were becoming outrageous from thirst, and cried for water. The old native officer, through mistaken pity, had some brought in skins. Then came the wild raving and the agony of struggle; all control was lost. Holwell and two wounded lads took in the water as fast as they could, in hats squeezed through the bars, but the little that reached the lips of those clutching at it merely intensified their terrible thirst. More agonizing to Holwell even than his own thirst, was the feeling that he could not reach those at the back of the prison, who implored him with parched throats for one drop, "calling on me by the tender consideration of friendship and affection, and who knew they were really dear to me." So eagerly was the water raged for, that those who had posts of vantage at the other window, left them and the life-saving air, to fight to that at which it was; not till later was it brought to the further window also. This awful scene went on for two hours, to the devilish enjoyment of the guards without, who kept the supply of water going, and held up lanterns to the bars to enable them to see the frenzied struggle for it in the crowd within. Entreaty and abuse were alternately resorted to, for inducing or provoking the guards to shoot their tortured victims, who now longed for any death that would close their sufferings. By about half past eleven the greater number of those still living, the occupants of the windows excepted, were delirious. It was at length realised by all that the insufficient water merely added fuel to the fire, and shrieks were raised for "air, air." To get to this as a last effort several who were behind leaped and scrambled

on the backs and heads of those in the front rows, and grasping the bars so held their position while life or strength lasted. By degrees, as death mercifully released the greater number, the air admitted sufficed to keep alive those whose endurance, or place near the openings, was favourable for survival. Only twenty-three (not one sixth of the whole) were taken out alive when the door was opened at dawn on the 21st of June, Holwell's personal remembrance of the night ceased at two A. M., as he then (for the second time) gave up the struggle of life, and sunk into what he believed and hoped was the shadow of death.

[Extracts from H. E. BUSTEED's *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. THACKER, SPINK & Co.]

VII.

THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY.

1757.

[IN October, 1756, Clive was sent from Madras to punish Náwab Siraj-ud-dulá, the Súbahdár of Bengal, Bihár and Orissa, for the Massere of the "Black Hole." He retook Calcutta in January 1757, and set out thence to Plassey, where the Nawáb was lying with an army of 68,000 men. Clive had with him about 900 Europeans and 2,100 sepoys. Mír Jafar, commander-in-chief of the Nawāb's army, entered into an engagement with the English to betray his master, but he really waited to see which side would be in the ascendant.]

They (*i. e.* the English) reached Plassey, at one o'clock on the morning of the 23rd of June and lay down to sleep in a mango-grove, the sound of drums and other music in the camp of the Nawáb solacing rather than disturbing them. The Súbahdár had reached his head quarters twelve hours before them.

The mango-tope in which the English were resting was but a mile distant from the intrenched position occupied by Siráj-ud daula's army. A little in advance, on the bank of the river, stood a hunting-box belonging to the Nawab, encompassed by a wall of masonry.

On the spot which the Nawáb had selected for his entrenched camp, the river makes a bend in the form of a horse shoe, with the points much contracted, forming a peninsula of about three miles in circumference, the neck of which was less than a quarter of a mile in breadth. The intrenchment commenced a little below the southern point of this gorge, extending inland for 200 yards, and sweeping thence round to the north for about three miles. At this angle was a redoubt, on which the enemy had mounted several pieces of cannon, and about 800 yards to the south, nearer Clive's grove, was a tank, and 100 yards further south was a second and large one. The Súbahdár's army was encamped partly in this peninsula, partly in rear of the intrenchment. The most efficient portion of his force was a small party of forty to fifty Frenchmen, commanded by M. St. Frais, formerly one of the council of Chandarnagar. This party had attached to it four light field pieces. At day-break on the 3rd of June the Nawáb moved his entire army out of the intrenchment and advanced towards the position occupied by Clive, the several corps marching in compact order. In front was St. Frais, who took post at the larger tank, that nearest Clive's grove. On a line to his right, near the river, were a couple of heavy guns, under the orders of a native officer. Behind these two advanced parties, and within supporting distance, was a chosen body of

5000 horse and 7000 foot, under the immediate command of the Nawáb's most faithful general, Mír Madan. The rest of the Nawáb's army extended in a curve, its right resting on the hillock near the camp; thence sweeping round in dense columns of horse and foot to the eastward of the south-east angle of the grove. Here nearest to the English were placed the troops of Mir Jafar, then those of Yar Luff Khan, beyond these Rájá Duláb Rám. The English within the grove were thus almost surrounded by the river and the enemy; but in view of the promised treachery of Mír Jafar, the greatest danger was to be apprehended from their immediate front, viz., from St. Frais, with his little body of Frenchmen, and from Mír Madan.

From the roof of the hunting-house Clive watched his enemy take up the positions which would hold him, if their generals were true to their masters, in a vice. It would seem that the action commenced by a discharge of one of the four guns of St. Frais. This discharge killed one and wounded another of the men of the European battalion. Immediately afterwards the whole of the enemy's guns opened fire, but their shots flew high, and did but little mischief. Clive meanwhile had drawn up his troops in line in front of the grove, their left resting on the hunting box, with the exception of two guns and two howitzers which he had posted at some brick-kilns some 200 yards in front of the hunting-box spoken of.

After a cannonade of half an hour, the English having lost ten Europeans and twenty sepoys in killed and

wounded Clive withdrew them under shelter of the grove leaving one detachment at the brick-kilns, another at the hunting-box. This retrograde movement greatly encouraged the enemy. Then Clive summoned his principal officers to a conference, and it was resolved that the troops should occupy their existing positions until midnight, and should then attack the Nawáb's camp. Scarcely was the conference over, than the skies poured down a fierce shower, such as occurs often during the rainy season, which lasted an hour. Then it was that the enemy's artillery fire slackened by degrees almost to the point of ceasing, for the rain had damaged their ammunition, left almost completely without cover. Clive had been more careful of his powder, so that when the enemy's horse, believing the English guns as powerless as their own, advanced towards the grove to charge, they were received with a fire which emptied many a saddle, and sent them reeling back. In this charge Mír Madan was killed.

The death of this brave and faithful soldier greatly disheartened the Súbáhdár. He sent for Mír Jafar and implored him to remain faithful to his oath. Taking off his turban and casting it at the feet of his uncle, he exclaimed in humble tones, 'Jafar, that turban thou must defend?' Mír Jafar promised but instead of performing, the degenerate Muhammadan returned to his confederates and sent a despatch to Clive, informing him of all that had passed, and begging him to push on immediately, or, if that were impossible, not to fail to attack during the night.

It is impossible not to feel sympathy for the youthful prince, surrounded by traitors, his one true adherent

killed. Scarcely had Mír Jafar quitted him when there came to him another traitor, Rájá Duláb Rám. Instead of encouraging the Súbáhdár to fight it out, the treacherous Rájá gave fuel to his fears, told him the day was lost, and urged him to flee to Murshídábád. In an evil hour for his dynasty and for himself, Siráj-ud-daula yielded to his persuasions, mounted a swift dromedary, and fled, accompanied by 2000 horsemen, to his capital.

By two o'clock the enemy's attack had completely ceased, and they were observed yoking their oxen preparatory to withdrawing within the intrenchment as the Súbahdár had ordered. There remained only on the ground that body of forty gallant Frenchmen under St. Frais, whom I have described as occupying on the ground about the larger tank, that nearest to the grove. The post was an important one, for from it the English would have taken the retreating enemy in flank, and and have inflicted heavy loss upon them. When St. Frais recognised the earnestness of the English, and that he was entirely without support, he evacuated the post, and retreated to the redoubt at the corner of the intrenchment. There he placed his guns ready for action.

Clive advanced to a position whence he could cannonade the enemy's camp. The effect of this fire was to cause great loss and confusion amongst the troops of the Súbahdár, at the same time that the English, giving by their advance, their flank to the French in the redoubt, suffered also. To put an end to this cross fire, Clive saw the one remedy was to storm the redoubt. St. Frais displayed a bold front, but, abandoned almost

immediately by his native allies, and deeming it wiser to preserve his Europeans for another occasion, he evacuated the redoubt, leaving his fieldpieces behind him. His resistence was the last opposition offered to the English. The clock struck five as he fell back, thus tolling the memorable hour which gave to England the richest province in India. Just as the beaten and betrayed army was moving off with its impediments—its elephants, its camels, leaving to be scrambled for an enormous mass of baggage, stores, cattle, and camp equipage, Clive received messengers from Mír Jafar requesting an interview. Clive replied by appointing a meeting for the morrow at Dáudpur a village twenty miles to the south of Murshídábád. Thither the bulk of the troops, their spirits cheered by the promise made them that they would receive a liberal donation in money, marched that evening; whilst a detachment under Eyre Coote went forward in pursuit, to prevent the enemy from rallying. After a short halt, to enable the commissariat to exchange their small and worn-out bullocks for the splendid oxen of the Súbáhdár, the troops pressed on, and at eight o'clock the entire force was united at Dáudpur.

Such was the battle of Plassey. The loss of the English force was extremely small, amounting to seven Europeans and sixteen sepoys killed, and thirteen Eupeans and thirty-six sepoys wounded. No officer was killed, two were wounded, but their names are not recorded.

[Extracts From Malleson's *Lord Clive*.

Clarendon Press.]

VIII.

The New Order in Bengal.

1772–1774.

It was not till the 13th April, 1772, that Cartier handed over to Hastings the keys of office, with the charge of a depleted treasury, a burdensome debt, and a government wholly out of gear. He was told to make strict enquiry into all the misdeeds alleged against the Company's servants of every grade, to punish proved offenders according to their deserts, to sweep away the monopolies that were killing the inland trade, to devise cheaper and surer modes of collecting the revenue, to re-organise the Nawáb's household, and bring to account the chief native officers in Bengal and Behar.

Within a fortnight, the new Governor had taken the first steps towards effecting a great revolution in the affairs of Bengal. Up to this time the internal gevernment of the two provinces, Bengal and Behar—for Orissa was still held by the Maráthás—had remained for each in the hands of a Náib Diwán, or deputy-governor. Within Bengal itself these large powers had been entrusted by Clive to Muhámmad Raza Khan, a Musalman noble of approved loyalty and high repute. The outlying province of Behar was ruled in like manner by by Raja Shitab Rai, the brave Hindu chief who had fought under the walls of Patna in the front rank of Knox's heroes. On the 24th April, 1772, Hastings received the letter in which the Court of Directors announced their intention to 'stand forth as Díwán,' and to entrust their own servants with the 'entire care and management of the revenues of Bengal. Hastings was

enjoined to remove Muhammad Raza Khan from office, and to bring him down to Calcutta to defend himself from certain charges of embezzlement and oppression into which enquiry must be made. Similar measures were to be taken against Shitab Rai. Before many days both these gentlemen had been escorted down to Calcutta where they remained 'in an easy confinement pending the issue of a trial conducted by the Governor himself. With the Council's sanction, Middleton was placed in charge of Muhammad Raza's post. Both the prisoners were assured by Hastings of the deep regret with which he obeyed the commands of his masters in England, and and of his own desire to give them all facilities for their defence.

Meanwhile, matters of yet more pressing importance engaged his thoughts. For some years past the land revenue, the one great customary source of fiscal wealth in India, had yielded very little profit to the real masters of Bengal. When the final orders from England reached Hastings, a scheme for settling the land revenue on a sound footing for a term of years had already been laid before his Council, and a committee, appointed to carry it out. In the heats of a Bengal June the Committee, headed at first by Hastings himself, set forth on a round of investigation through all the districts of the province. "The farming system for a course of years, subjected to proper checks and regulations seemed the most likely to afford relief to the country; and both to ascertain and produce the real value of the lands without violence to the ráyats." So wrote Hastings to the Court of Directors; and such was the spirit in

which his colleagues strove to reconcile the interests of the rulers with those of the ruled. If, in the next five years, the defaulting Zamíndárs might be counted by hundreds and the arrears of land revenue exceeded two millions, if the country still suffered from many forms of wrong-doing, it must be remembered that the Committee of Circuit were like explorers in unknown regions, who had no trustworthy guides to show them the right track.

The reforms thus set on foot involved others. English collectors replaced native *Amils* in the civil management of many districts, each as large as an average English shire. Over each group of districts or collectorates a commissioner was to act as general overseer. In Calcutta itself, thenceforth the capital of Bengal, were established two Courts of Appeal for civil and criminal cases. In each court the judges were aided by native assessors skilled in expounding the subtleties of Hindu and Muḥammadan law.

The process of retrenchment was applied to the pension list and the expenses of the Nawáb's household. To the office of Diwán, or controller of the household, he appointed Rájá Gurdás, son of his old enemy and future assailant, Mahárájá Nanda-Kumar, who had once held high office in Mír Jafar's government. But though Nanda-Kumar's character was as bad as possible, his influence with his own countrymen and his power to help or harm the Company's interests were supposed to be very great. His known abilities might be turned to account in the prosecution of his hated rival, Raza Khán. The Directors had bidden Hastings make what use he

could of the traitor's services in this connexion; and Hastings complied with the spirit of their injunctions by bestowing office on the son.

The improvement of the company's trade was another object of Hastings' care. In his measures for repressing corrupt and oppressive practices among the Company's servants, he obeyed the Court's injunctions in the spirit rather than the letter. The powers entrusted to him for this end could only serve, he wrote, "to destroy every other that I am possessed of, by arming my hand against every man, and every man's against me." Most of those who had conspired to set up monopolies of salt, tobacco, betel-nut, rice and other grains were found to be friends or relations to East India Directors. Hastings suppressed the traffic with a firm but delicate hand. All these changes were begun or effected during the first year of Hastings' government.

The year 1773 opened with the trial of Rájá Shitáb Rai before a Committee of which Hastings himself was president. Some months later, a full and honourable acquittal was followed by the Rájá's restoration to his former dignities under a new name. In August he set out for Patna as Deputy-Governor of Behar. But his health was so broken that he survived the journey but a few weeks.

The trial of Muhammad Raza Khán lingered on for a whole year. The charges against him were investigated day by day with unflagging patience; Hastings himself filling the twofold part of examiner and interpreter. At last the long enquiry ended in an acquittal, which the Court of Directors subsequently confirmed. The victim

of their rashness and Nanda-Kumár's hate was restored ere long to much of his former eminence. More fortunate than his fellow-sufferer, he lived to hold high office under the Government of Bengal, and to see his old traducer doomed to a felon's death.

Some further changes in the machinery of Government were soon to occupy Hastings' attention. The new class of English collectors were found unequal to their new duties; and in 1774 their powers were entrusted to native Diwáns and Amils, controlled in fiscal matters by a Committee of Revenue, which sat daily in Calcutta to hear complaints from ráyats and other aggrieved persons.

Hastings had given Bengal a judicial system which however rude and imperfect, aimed at dealing equal justice on fixed principles to all alike. This boon he determined to better by drawing up a code of Hindu and Muhammadan law for the guidance of the new courts. One part of the task was comparatively easy, for a good, if lengthy, digest of Muhammadan law had been made by command of Aurangzeb. But the Hindu laws, which concerned two-thirds of the people, were buried in a multitude of books written in a tongue which very few Hindus could understand. Ten of the most learned Pandits in the country came down to Calcutta at Hastings' special desire, to compile an authoritative digest of Hindu laws. Translated into Persian from the Sanskrit originals, the new code enabled the courts to decide all cases with certainty and despatch. Mr. Halhed, of the Company's service, then set to work upon an English translation, which was completed early in 1775.

Meanwhile, Hastings' Government had been engaged in remodelling the police of Calcutta, and had dealt some vigorous blows against the more rampant forms of lawless violence in Bengal. Gangs of Dakáits, or bandits, had all through the century been driving a brisk trade in rapine and murder among the feeble folk of a country in which law and order had become words of little meaning. Hastings decreed, with the sanction of his colleagues, that every convicted Dakáit should be hanged in his own village; and that the village itself should be heavily fined. Faujdárs, or chief officers of police, placed in every district to protect the peaceful villagers, and to take all due measures for tracking out and capturing Dakáits, and other lawless offenders.

In 1773, our native troops were waging a harder fight against the Bhutia invaders of Kúch-Behar, whose young Rájá in 1772 had appealed to Hastings for help in driving them back to their own hills. In return for such help, he offered to acknowledge the Company's over-lordship, and to assign half his revenues to the Government of Bengal. His prayer was granted, and a small Sepoy force hastened to his aid. The men of Bhután fought stubbornly, but Sepoy discipline under British leading bore them back into their own mountains; and in 1774 their leader, the Deb Rájá, was glad to make peace on terms which restored to him his captured strongholds and gave Bhutia merchants the right of trading with Rangpur.

Out of this campaign sprang Hastings' project of sending a British mission into Tibet. The Teshu Láma, one of the two rival Buddhist Popes who reigned in

that far corner of the Chinese Empire, had written to Hastings pleading for the merciful treatment of his unruly vassal, the Deb Rájá. His request was answered by the treaty of 1774, which Hastings followed up by sending George Bogle, a young civil officer of fine promise, on a friendly mission to the Láma himself. This measure, he fondly hoped, might prove the preface to a new and profitable trade between Tibet and India. Bogle set out in May, 1774, on his strange journey into unknown regions, laden with presents and samples of Indian goods, and charged to make diligent use of his opportunities for gaining all kinds of information by the way. A medical officer named Hamilton bore him company. At Desherigpay in the mountain land of Tibet, they found a warm welcome from the Teshu Láma himself, in whose train they recrossed the Tsánpu, or Upper Brahmaputra, and entered the Láma's place at Teshu-Lumbo. In June, 1775, Bogle found himself once more in Calcutta, where Hastings received him with open arms.

So far as trade with Tibet was concerned, nothing but friendly messages and some choice specimens of the products of the country came of an enterprise from which Warren Hastings had hoped so much. Bogle's valuable letters and journals remained in manuscript for a hundred years. His good friends, the Teshu Láma, died in 1780 at Peking, before he had won permission from his Chinese over-lord to open Tibet to foreign trade. Bogle's early death in the following year was another blow to his patron's hopes and purposes. Meanwhile, the friendly intercourse with Bhután had

been strengthened by the maintenance of a yearly fair at Rangpur, and by two missions which Bogle's comrade, Dr. Hamilton, led within three years to the Deb Rájá's capital. At last, in 1783, a second embassy to the Teshu Láma made its way under Captain Turner to the point which Bogle had once reached. In March of the following year, Turner reported himself to Hastings at Patná. But the great Governor's career in India was fast nearing its close; and the fruits of his wise policy finally disappeared when Gúrkha ambition forced the Chinese to block the passes leading into Tibet.

Before the cold season of 1774, Hastings had wrought a marvellous change in what seemed to him at the outset 'a confused heap of indigested materials, as wild as the chaos itself.' He had made his influence felt for good in all branches of administrative works. In short, within the limits prescribed by his masters, and with official powers inadequate to the task assigned him, he had succeeded in planning out and laying sure foundations of civilised rule over the provinces won by the sword and diplomacy of Clive.

[From Captain L. J. Trotter's *Warren Hastings*.

Rulers of India Series.]

IX

The Struggle for Southern India.

1778–1784.

Alexander Elliot's death in September on his way to Nágpur proved to Hastings a bitter sorrow and 'an irreparable loss.' In October Hastings was about to recall Colonel Leslie from a command for which he had shown himself unfitted, when Leslie's death cleared the way for his destined successor, Colonel Goddard, one of the executive officers in the service, who was to take his orders from Bengal alone, and was also empowered to fill Elliot's place in the negotiations with Berár.

Before the close of January, 1779, the new commander had carried his little army without a check from Bundelkhand across the Narbadá to Burhanpur and Surat. But the main purpose of his march had already been defeated by the disastrous blundering of those whom he had been sent to aid. On the 15th January, 1779, the English leaders set their hands to the convention of Wargaon, which surrendered to the Peshwá all that our arms had won in Western India since 1765.

Neither at Bombay nor Calcutta was any respect shown to a compact which at least secured a peaceful retreat for troops. Hastings ordered Goddard to propose a renewal of the Purandhar Treaty, if the Poona Government would forego all claims arising from the new Convention, and promise to admit no French troops into their country. The Maráthás, however, could not be brought to accept the only compromise by which war might be avoided Raghuba gave his captors the slip, and made his way to Surat. Nána Farnavís demanded his surrender,

and invited the Nizám and Haidar to join him in making war on the English. In January, 1780, Goddard took the field. During the next few months he captured the stately city of Ahmadábad, and twice defeated the combined forces of Tukají Holkar and Madhaji Sindhia. The capture of Ahmadábád was the first-fruits of a treaty by which the Gáikwár of Baroda had just agreed to divide with his English allies the fair province of Gujarát.

Before the year's end Bassein itself, for which the Company had so long been hungering, had surrendered to the victorious Goddard, while Hartley had crowned his former exploits by repulsing 20,000 Maráthas who had been pressing him hard on all sides for two days. Meanwhile another Bengal column, which Hastings had launched across the Jumna under the bold Captain Popham, drove Sindhia's men before them, and stormed the fort of Lahar on the road from Kalpi to Gwalior. In August two companies of Popham's Sepoys, with twenty English soldiers led by Captain Bruce, brother of the famous African explorer, carried by escalade the rock-perched fortress of Gwalior, which Sir Eyre Coote, the new member of Hastings' Council, had held it utter madness to attack. These "frantic military exploits," as Francis and his allies were wont to call them, owed much of their success to the Governor-General's own resourceful energy, his masterful self-reliance, and his happy choice of competent officers.

Meanwhile events had happened in Southern India which enlarged the circle of Hastings' anxieties, and thwarted his efforts to keep India closed against the French. Ever since 1772 Haidar Alí had lost no oppor-

tunity of enlarging his boundaries at the expense of his weaker neighbours. Before the end of 1778 he had pushed his conquests northward to the Kistna and westward over Malabar. More than once had his dread of the Marathas tempted him to renew his overtures to the English at Madras. But the latter, full of their own quarrels and perplexities, gave little heed to the wooings of a neighbour whose friendship seemed to them more dangerous than his enmity.

When war with France broke out in 1778, Sir Thomas Rumbold, an old Bengal civilian, was Governor of Madras. In spite of Hastings' urgency, no serious attempt was made to conciliate the Sultan of Mysore. After the capture of Pondicherry in October, only one French settlement, Mahe on the western coast, remained in French hands. In March, 1779, that place also fell to our arms. Haidar's wrath at the capture of a seaport which some of his own troops had helped to defend, was presently inflamed by the march of a British force through a strip of his own territory into the Guntúr Sarkar, the province which Basalat Jang, the Nizam's brother, had lately rented to the Company in return for the use of a British contingent strong enough to replace his French troops.

Early in 1780 Hastings, writing to Rumbold, declared himself "convinced from Haidar's conduct and disposition, that he will never molest us while we preserve a good understanding with him." But the time for a good understanding had passed beyond recall with the capture of Mahe and the occupation of Guntúr. Cut

off from one outlet on the western and from his chance of another on the eastern coast, Haidar resolved to wreak a long-hoarded revenge. On the 20th July, 1780, the storm burst. Haidar's myriads poured like a lava-flood through the hill-passes into the peaceful plains of the Karnatic, and the smoke of burning villages ere long told its tale of fear to the scared beholders on St. Thomas's Mount.

A whole month elapsed before Munro set out for Conjeveram with a force of 5000 men and forty guns. Colonel Baillie, with half that number, was marching thither from Guntúr. On the 10th September Baillie's little force had come within sight of the great Pagoda at Conjeveram, when it was suddenly attacked on all sides by Haidar's army, and after a long and heroic struggle, some 300 officers and men, mostly wounded, surrendered to the ruthless victor, whose French officers alone saved them from being slaughtered where they stood. Munro himself had heard the firing, but with strange perverseness refused to stir a foot. Next evening the hero of Buxar threw his heavy guns into a tank, and leaving much of his baggage behind him, hurried back to St. Thomas's Mount; while Haidar leisurely proceeded to waste the Karnatic with fire and sword.

Hastings' courage rose to the occasion. On the 11th October, 1780, a small but well-equipped force of Europeans and Sepoys dropped down the Húgli for Madras. A few days later Coote himself, at the Council's request, sailed from Calcutta to command the army destined to retrieve the disasters and disgrace of

the past month. In January, 1781, Colonel Thomas Pearse began his march from Midnapur southwards through Orissa, a province then occupied by troops from Berar, whose Rájá had just declined to mediate with the Court of Poona. But Hastings was not to be daunted by the first obstacle that crossed his path. 'Acts,' he wrote, 'that proclaim confidence and determine the spirit in the hour of adversity, are surest means of retrieving it. Self-distrust will never fail to create a distrust in others, and make them become your enemies; for in no part of the world is the principle of supporting a rising interest and depressing a falling one more prevalent than in India.'

Pearse was ordered to march on at all risks, but to avoid a collision with the Berar troops. Anderson's diplomacy, backed by liberal offers of money and help from Hastings, who furnished three lakhs from his own coffers, materially smoothed the way for Pearse's advance. Two thousand Maratha horse gave him the strength he needed in that arm; while Mudaji himself was converted, in Hastings' words, "from an ostensible enemy into a declared friend." In spite of sickness, desertions, and a mutinous spirit among the junior officers, Pearse brought his brigade in sixty-four days to Nellore. In the Masulipatam district he was reinforced by troops from Madras, but not till the beginning of August did he join hands with the main army under Coote, whose long campaign in the Karnatic had been crowned a month before by the decisive victory of Porto Novo in July, 1781.

Coote had reached Madras early in November, 1780,

at a moment when matters seemed at their very worst. The Government was paralysed. Haidar's cavalry had swept the country round for supplies and plunder. The people themselves were losing all faith in their powerless protectors. Arcot had fallen, and one of Haidar's generals was besieging Wandiwash, which young Flint, with 300 Sepoys, defended with the courage of a second Clive. Not till the middle of January, 1781, was Coote able to take the field and hurry off with a few thousand troops to the relief of Flint. The mere news of the veteran's coming frightened the besiegers away from Wandiwash. After relieving another stronghold and capturing a third, he struck off southwards for Cuddalore. But the promised supplies from Admiral Hughes's squadron were long in reaching him; and his bold rush in June at the well-stored Pagoda of Chidambaram met with a sudden and murderous repulse.

While Coote was resting his troops at Porto Novo, his wary antagonist marched swiftly back from Tanjore in hopes of barring Coote's return to Cuddalore. On the 1st July the English veteran launched his 8000 men against Haidar's 80,000, with a skill and courage worthy of his old renown. After six hours of fighting and patient manœuvring among the sandhills near Porto Novo, with help from one small schooner off shore, Coote struck his crowning blow; and the enemy fled, leaving thousands of dead and wounded on a field which cost the victors only 300 men. It would be hard to overrate the timeliness of a victory which saved from imminent and utter ruin the fortunes of our countrymen in Southern India.

The two armies clashed again in August near the scene of Baillie's disaster; but the victory of Pollilor proved far less decisive than that of Porto Novo. On the 27th September, however, Coote surprised and routed his great antagonist at Sholinghar. By this time the Dutch also were at war with England. But, thanks to Hastings' influence and Coote's strategy, bolder counsels had begun to prevail at Madras. The spendthrift ruler of the Karnatic was relieved of all control over the revenues of a province still to be administered in his name. In November, 1781, Negapatam was wrested from the Dutch by Sir Hector Munro with the help of an English fleet led by the active Sir Edward Hughes. This was followed early in the next year by the capture of Trincomali, the finest harbour in Ceylon. All through the year 1782 the war went on with varying fortune. Cuddalore was taken with the help of Haidar's French allies, and Sir Edward Hughes was too late to avert the recapture of Trincomali by the daring Suffren, the Nelson of France. The fleets commanded by these two great sailors never met without doing each other the utmost damage at the least apparent gain to either side.

On the Malabar coast our troops and garrisons were hard beset by Tipu, on whose myriads a few repulses made slight impression. The gallant Humberstone was nearly driven into a corner, when Tipu suddenly led off the bulk of his army eastward in hot haste to the camp at Chitture, where his famous father died on the 7th December, 1782, weary, as he owned at last, of 'waging a costly war with a nation whom he might have made

his friends, but whom the defeat of many Baillies and Braithwaites would never destroy.' In a fold of his turban was found a paper in which he enjoined his son to make peace with the English at once, on any terms.

Matters at this moment looked very dark for our countrymen in Southern India. Refugees from the wasted plains of the Karnatic were dying in the Black Town of Madras at the rate of fifteen hundred a week. The monsoon gales and the French cruisers along the eastern coasts had been playing havoc with English merchantmen and the native coasting craft. Hughes's fleet was disabled for the time by sickness and much fighting. A strong French force under the renowned Bussy was hourly expected to land from Suffren's fleet at Cuddalore.

Before the end of 1781 Sindhia had agreed not only to make peace himself with the English, but to persuade the Court of Poona to make peace also on the terms proposed by Hastings. In May, 1782, the Treaty of Salbai was signed by Sindhia, and most of the Maráthá leaders. Nána Farnavís, who had accepted the treaty, still put off signing a compact which virtually pledged him to abandon Haidar altogether. But pressure from Hastings, and the news of Haidar's death, induced him also to sign before the year's end. In the following February the Peshwá's seals were affixed to a treaty by which Hastings surrendered much in order to gain a good deal more. If Sindhia recovered all his lost possessions save Gwalior, if Bassein and part of Gujarat were restored to the Peshwá, and Raghuba might look for no more help or encouragement from Bombay, the

Maráthás in their turn pledged themselves to let no European traders set up factories on their ground, and to 'hold no intercourse or friendship with any other European nation.' Freedom of trade between the English and the Maráthás was expressly assured, and neither party was to give any kind of aid to the enemies of the other. Raghubá himself was promised a safe asylum with Sindhia on a pension of four lakhs a year.

Abandoned by the Maráthás and the Nizam, Tipú could still look for help to his French allies; and he prepared to carry on the war with all his father's energy, but without Haidar's consummate skill. Fortune favoured his first efforts, Haidar's stoutest foe, Sir Eyre Coote died in April, 1783, of sheer exhaustion, two days after his landing at Madras. His successor, Stuart, who had meanwhile done nothing but quarrel with the Madras Council, now wasted some precious weeks in marching against Cuddalore, where Bussy's troops had landed on the 10th April. But tidings of peace made between France and England came just in time to save our arms from imminent disaster, and to rob Tipú of his last and doughtiest allies. In accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, Bussy withdrew his troops from Tipú's service, and Stuart's army returned in safety to Madras.

Not till after the surrender of Mangalore in January, 1784, did Tipú deign to receive the envoys from Madras, in order to discuss the terms of a treaty which flattered his pride at the expense of those who had already gone near to crush him. On 11th March, 1784, the three English commissioners stood before the Sultán for two hours, beseeching him to sign the treaty which they

held in their hands. The envoys from Poona and Haidarábád pleaded earnestly to the same effect. At last he agreed to ratify a peace which restored to each party their former possessions, and rescued more than a thousand Englishmen and nearly as many Sepoys from the slow tortures of prison life in Mysore.

[From CATPTAIN L. J. TROTTER'S *Warren Hastings.* Rulers of India Series. Clarendon Press.]

X

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AS A RURAL MANUFACTURER: End of 18th Century.

THE Records of Bírbhúm disclose the mercantile operations of the East India Company in full play. It managed its business according to two distinct systems: by covenanted servants who received regular pay, and invested the money entrusted to them without making any private profit; and by unsalaried agents, who contracted to supply goods at a certain rate, and might make what they could by the bargain. The first class bore the titles of residents, senior merchants, junior merchants, factors and sub-factors. Their posts formed the most lucrative in the Company's gift and attracted its best men, while its political functions were made over to 'the boys of the service.' Warren Hastings himself—the first Anglo-Indian statesman who appreciated the responsibilities of sovereign power—did not venture to render the mercantile subservient to the administrative character of his high office. As a legislator his success was partial, but as the chief of a great trading corporation which had to pay an annual dividend, it was complete; and when he left India, the conspicuous monuments of his rule appeared to be, not the administrative reforms which have given him a permanent place in history, but the weaving villages, filatures, and factories which he left in every district of Bengal.

Long before the Company deemed it necessary to assume the direct administration of the western principalities, it had covered them with trading concerns;

and indeed peril into which the Rajah's misrule brought the factories, formed one of the main reasons that induced Lord Cornwallis to take Bírbhúm under his own care. A commercial resident supervised the whole, and three head factories, in conveniently central positions, regulated the operations of twelve other subordinate ones. Silk, cotton cloths, fibres, gums and lac dye, furnished the staple articles of the Bírbhúm investment. Mulberry-growing communes fringed the margin of the south and of the More on the north, disclosed a weaving village. These little industrial colonies dwelt secure amid the disorders of the times, protected not by walls or trained bands, but by the terror of the Company's name. They afforded an asylum for the peaceable craftsman when the open country was overrun; and after the harvest of of the year had been gathered in, the husbandman transported thither the corp, with his wife, and oxen, and brazen vessels, careless of what the banditti might do to the empty shell of his mud hovel. Some of these unfortified strongholds grew into important towns; and as one set of names tell of a time when the country seems to have been divided between robbers and wild beasts, so another, such as *Tatti-parah* (weaving village), disclose how the artisans and small merchants found protection by clustering together under the commercial Resident's wing.

On only two occasions did the banditti venture to attack either the Company's workmen or their work. The first happened by accident; the second was the act of despair. A train of Government pack-bullocks fell into the hands of robbers while passing through the

jnugle; but as the drivers fled, there was no one to say to whom the goods belonged, and they were plundered accordingly. The Commercial Resident, indignant above measure, wrote to the collector. The latter replied in an apologetic strain, and the landholder on whose estate the misfortune happened thought himself happy in being allowed to purchase pardon by making good the loss. Probably the robbers themselves, on learning their mistake, had surrendered the property, for the identical missing articles were recovered.

The other occasion proved a more serious one. Mr. Keating had hemmed in the banditti on the south of the of the Adji; but thinking the company's name a sufficient protection, had taken no steps to guard the weaving villages on the northern bank. Under ordinary circumstances, his calculation would no doubt have proved correct. But starving men are not to be relied upon; so one morning the marauders crossed the river and sacked the Company's principal weaving village. An outragé so unprecedented as this was not to be atoned for by apologies on the part of the Collector, or by compensation from the landholder. About the same time the ancient capital of the district had been stormed, its palaces despoiled, and property a hundred times more valuable than a dozen weaving village, destroyed or plundered, without drawing forth any comment from the Government. But now the collector humbled himself before the Commercial Resident in vain. The latter laid the matter before Lord Cornwallis, and presently a severe censure from Government taught Mr. Keating that, though the banditti might

plunder the district at pleasure, the Company's work-people must be protected at any cost.

The sum spent upon the mercantile investment in Bírbhúm varied from £45,000 to £65,000 a year. The weavers worked upon advance. Every head of a family in a Company's village had an account at the factory where he attended once a year for the purpose of seeing his account made up, and the value of the goods which he had from time to time delivered set off against the sums he had received. The balance was then struck, a new advance generally given and the account reopened for the ensuing year.

Mr. Cheap, the Commercial Resident, appears throughout in the light of a very important personage, and one with whom the Collector Mr. Keating, although not naturally of a conciliatory turn of mind, did his best to keep on good terms. Of longer standing in the service than the Collector, and less liable to be transferred, the Commercial Resident formed the real head of the district. His gains were unlimited; for besides his official pay, he carried on an enormous business on his own account. We find Mr. Keating complaining that he can barely subsist on his salary; that the mud tenement in which the collectors lived was letting in water, and tumbling down upon his head; and petitioning in vain for a single rood of land on which to build a house. Mr. Cheap, on the other hand, not only made a fortune, and bequeathed the largest indigo plantations in that part of Bengal, but meanwhile lived sumptuously in a pile of buildings surrounded by artificial lakes and spacious gardens, and defended by a strong wall which gave the

Commercial Residency a look less of a private dwelling than of a fortified city. The ruins crown the top of a hill visible for many miles, and cover as large a space as the palaces, pavilions, and mausolems which the princes of Bírbhúm had erected during two hundred years.

The Commercial Resident, rather than the Collector, wielded the power of the public purse. Mr. Keating possessed patronage only to the amount of £300 per annum, and all valuable appointments in his gift required the confirmation of the Calcutta authorities. But Mr. Cheap, as commercial chief, had from £45,000 to £65,000 to spend each year on behalf of the Company. The whole industrial classes were in his pay, and in his person Government appeared in its most benign aspect. On the Collector devolved the harsh task of levying the taxes; the Commercial Resident had the pleasant duty of redistributing them. To the then supersitious Hindu, Mr. Keating was the Company in the form of Siva, a divinity powerful for evil and to be propitiated accordingly; while Mr. Cheap was the Company in the form of Vishnu, powerful for good, less venerated because less feared, but adored, beloved, wheedled, and cheated on on every hand. A long unpaid retinue followed him from one factory to another, and as the procession defiled through the hamlets, mothers held aloft their children to catch a sight of his palanquin, while the elders bowed low before the Providence from whom they derived their daily bread.

Mr. Cheap exercised magisterial powers, and the villagers, to whom an appearance before the Collector,

whether as plaintiff or defendant, was equally an object of terror, referred their disputes to the arbitration of the Commercial Resident. Little parties arrived every morning, one bearing a wild beast and expecting the reward, another guarding a captured freebooter, a third to request protection againt a threatened attack on their village, a fourth to procure the adjustment of some dispute about their water-courses or landmarks. In such matters the law gave Mr. Cheap no power; but in the absence of efficient courts, public opinion had accorded jurisdiction to any influential person who chose to assume it, and the Commercial Resident's decision was speedy, inexpensive, and usually just. Every landholder in Bengal held his *cutcherry*, and occasionally did justice between his tenants; but Mr. Cheap was the justice general of the district.

[From SIR WILLIAM HUNTER'S *Annals of Rural Bengal.*]

XI

Trial and Last Days of Warren Hastings.

1785–1818.

On the 13th June, 1785, Hastings landed at Plymouth, after a voyage comparatively short and wholly uneventful, except for a brief stay at St. Helena. His first care of course was to rejoin his beloved wife, who had been graciously received at Court by the austere Queen Charlotte. Her husband himself equally honoured by the King, while one at least of the Ministers, Lord Chancellor Thurlow, greeted him as an old friend. Even Dundas, who had become President of the new Board of Control, received him with all apparent favour. The Court of Directors unanimously thanked him for his eminent services. He found himself in short, to use his own words, 'everywhere and universally treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of the country.' A dream of his childhood was fulfilled three years later, when the greater part of Daylesford fell by purchase into his hands. The vast fortune which his foes accused him of having extorted from the princes and people of India amounted only to £80,000, besides half that sum settled upon his wife. For a Governor-General of eleven years' standing this was a very modest saving from an income of £25,000 a year.

Hastings' dreams of peace from persecution and of some public reward for his past services were soon to be rudely dispelled. In June, 1785, Burke had proclaimed to the House of Commons his intention to 'make a

motion respecting the conduct of a gentleman just returned from India.' In the following February he carried out his threat by moving for copies of various papers bearing on the case in hand. In spite of rebuffs from the Ministry, he presented in April a list of the charges which, with Francis' help, he had already framed against Warren Hastings. A long answer in defence, hastily written at five days' notice, and read out in part by Hastings himself before the Commons, was heard with a deference which its author mistook for approval. From this delusion he was awakened in June, when Burke entered on his first charge—the hiring out of British soldiers "for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people" of Rohilkhand. On this charge Burke and his friends were decisively beaten.

In February, 1787, the charge concerning the Oudh Begams was opened by Sheridan in a long speech, whose dazzling eloquence played over a rich field of falsehoods, fallacies, exaggerations, and half-truths. Pitt joined in attack upon Hastings, whose guilt was affirmed by a majority of nearly three to one. The work of accusation went on so triumphantly, that the Commons on the 10th May decided to impeach Warren Hastings for high crimes and misdemeanours at the bar of the House of Lords. Thither on the 21st the great Governor was brought by the Sergeant-at-Arms to hear the articles of his impeachment read out by Burke. A committee of twenty commoners, headed by Burke himself, was appointed to conduct the trial of a man who deserved the highest honours that his country country could

have bestowed. The real author of the impeachment, Philip Francis, was very properly excluded, in spite of Burke's pleadings, from a place upon the committee. But he was allowed to attend their meetings, and to aid them liberally with the fruits of his misapplied talents and inventive spite.

The remainder of that year Hastings spent in preparations for his defence. On the 13th February, 1788, began in Westminister Hall the famous trial whose opening scene inspired one of the most splendid passages that ever came from Macaulay's pen. Into this scene Hastings entered in 'a plain, poppy-coloured suit of clothes.' His small, spare figure was still upright, and his bearing showed a due mixture of deference and dignity. A high forehead, with arched eyebrows overhanging soft, sad eyes, which presently flashed defiance on his accusers, a long sensitive nose that contrasted with the firmer lines of his mouth and chin, and the calm pallor of an oval face framed in brown waving hair,—all seemed to harmonise with the leading traits of his character and the chequered story of his past life.

Two days were spent in reading out the twenty charges and the defendant's replies to each. Burke's opening speech on the whole case lasted through four days.

The King's illness in autumn led to stormy debates on the Regency, and the trial could not proceed before April, 1789. After seventeen sittings taken up with the third charge, which concerned receipt of presents, the Lords again adjourned. In 1790 Parliament was dissolved, and

the great trial made very little progress. In the following May the Managers went through the charge of corruption and the remaining charges were dropped by general consent. That year's sittings closed with the reading of Hastings' defence; a powerful and temperate statement of the facts which went to prove not only the greatness of his public services, but his entire innocence of the wrong-doing laid to his charge. So strong indeed was Hastings' belief in his own innocence, that he begged his judges, if it so pleased them to pass their decision at once upon the case as it then stood.

On the 23rd April, 1795, the final verdict was proclaimed with due solemnity in the great Hall where Hastings had first been solemnly impeached. Of the peers who had sat through the whole trial twenty-nine only remained. On the first two articles of charge twenty-three declared Hastings 'Not Guilty.' On two charges of corruption he was unanimously acquitted, and on the remaining counts the adverse votes ranged from two to five. After seven years of cruel suspense the great proconsul had won a victory which pleased the public, but left him in point of worldly fortune a ruined man. He had no pension, he had been living up to his income, and the legal costs for his defence exceeded £70,000. For him there was small chance of public office under any Ministry led by Pitt or Fox. Pitt curtly declined to aid him in obtaining money from the public purse. The Directors and Proprietors of the Company he had served so well, concurred in voting him a handsome pension and a sum of money for his legal expenses. But the Board of Control withheld their sanction, and the Directors

finally granted him a pension of £4,000 for twenty-eight years and a half from the date of his return home, with a loan of £50,000 free of interest.

Two years later, when Pitt was dead, and the Grenville Ministry ruled in his place, Hastings privately urged his claim, if not to public office, at least to public reparation of the wrong which Parliament had done him twenty years before. The new Ministers were willing to grant him a peerage, but refused to ask the Commons for a reversal of their former sentence, on such conditions Hastings promptly declined the peerage, which he had asked for merely to please his wife. The one desire of his heart was to see his character cleared by those who had once branded him as a traitor to his country and false to his trust.

In 1813, at the age of eighty, Hastings was summoned to London to give evidence before both Houses on the question of renewing the Company's Charter. His appearance at the bar of the Commons evoked a storm of cheers, and as he retired, a few hours later, the members all rose with hats off, and 'stood in silence' until he had passed. A few days later he was greeted with equal reverence by the Lords.

The old man's last years were spent at Daylesford in quiet happiness, alloyed only by concern for his wife's future. He enjoyed the 'long-seated visits of his country neighbours, and made pleasant company for his home guests. He strolled about his gardens, and in 1816 constantly overlooked the women, employed in restoring

after his own plans the grey old parish church, which a later squire of Daylesford was to rebuild. In 1818 his health, hitherto good, began to break down. After much suffering, borne with patient fortitude, the white-haired statesman on the 22nd August drew a handkerchief over his face, and passed away without sigh or struggle, in his eighty-sixth year.

[From CAPTAIN L. J. TROTTER'S *Warren Hastings* Rulers of India Series, Clarendon Press.]

XII

RESULTS OF THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL.

1793.

IN one aspect, the Settlement has not received its full meed of praise. Here, for the first time in Oriental history, was seen the spectacle of a foreign ruler binding himself and his successors to abstain from periodical revision of the land-tax; almost creating a new race of landlords; giving to property another title than the sword of its owner or the favour of a Viceroy; and content to leave to the Zamindars the whole profit resulting from increased population and undisturbed peace. At this distance of time it is not very easy to estimate the exact effect of such abnegation on the minds of the great Zamindars of Bengal and Behar as well as on the Chiefs and Princes of neighbouring States. It is sometimes said that a policy of this kind is ascribed by natives to weakness and fear. Whatever may be the case in other instances, and however necessary it may

be to rule Orientals by firmness and strict justice quite as much as by conciliation, it can hardly be said that the moderation of Cornwallis was considered as a sign of impotence. It must have been felt all over the Province as a relief, if not a blessing. And though several of the solid fruits of the Settlement in perpetuity might have been equally attained by a Settlement for a long period, it may be argued that periodical assessments might in Bengal have been productive of other evils. Bengal is more than any other Province in India, the scene of that evasion and subterfuge which are the proverbial resources of the weak. In other provinces, as the period for revision draws nigh, a certain amount of distrust and disquietude arises in the minds of the population. Wealth is concealed; lands are purposely thrown out of cultivation; and many unfair means are resorted to in order to avoid an increase of rental. There can be no doubt that all these disturbing agencies would have been set actively at work in Bengal. It is not, moreover, easy to over-estimate the advantage of a wealthy and privileged class, who have everything to lose and nothing to gain by revolution.

This was clearly seen and acknowledged at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny. There were few large military cantonments in the Lower Provinces in that eventful year. The elements of a great Sepoy revolt, with its inevitable accompaniments of arson, plunder, and anarchy, were not abundant as they were in the Upper Provinces. Even when isolated detachments of Sepoys mutinied as they did at Dacca, Chittagong, and Bírbhúm, they met

with no countenance from the Zamindars. The Sepoys were disciplined and trained to fight. They had arms of precision in the midst of an unwarlike population, the bravest of whom could do little more than use a matchlock to kill a wild beast, and a spear to transfix an adversary in a village fight. But after the first outbreak at the Station, where they were resolutely met by a mere handful of Englishmen, the Sepoys took to the villages and the jungles, and then they literally melted away before the impassive demeanour, the want of sympathy, and the silent loyalty of the Zamindars. In other Provinces the system of village communities afforded no bulwark against the tide of anarchy. That system was in many respects admirable and suited to the community.

It had been justly renowned as a field for the exhibition of the highest kind of administrative talent. Men of large experience, broad views, and active sympathies, had fashioned or had rescued from slow decay, that most wonderful and diversified piece of mosaic known as the *pattidari* tenure. They had almost defied the teachings ot political economy and had well nigh arrested the play of social forces by rooting old and hereditary cultivators to the soil. Yet with the outbreak of the Sepoys and the temporary eclipse of British authority, these fabrics, the result of so much experience and philanthropy, collapsed of themselves or were broken up. In Bengal public tranquillity was hardly ruffled. The rebellion of Koer Sing in Behar was a solitary exception.

In times of famine and scarcity the co-operation of wealthy Zamíndárs has been invoked by the Government,

and in many instances ungrudgingly afforded. Here and there, no doubt, there were cases where Zamíndárs were niggardly and selfish. But several experts hold still to the opinion that scarcity is met, relief works are set on foot, and supplies are transported with greater facility, where there are large Zamíndárís, then in Provinces where the Settlement has been made with the heads of village communities, or with each Ryot direct as in Madras. The Tirhut famine of 1873-4 is certainly an instance in point. And in a country where social distinctions and inequalities still retain their attractions for the masses, the maintenance of some large Zamíndárís is quite in accordance with native feeling, and it has political advantages which compensate or at any rate balance its defects.

But, to sum up, it can hardly now be an open question whether Shore's plea for delay would have involved any sacrifice. The Zamíndárs, with security of tenure and with privileges converted into rights, would have been willing to accept a Settlement for a long term of years. The changes in the constitution, duties, and remuneration of the Civil Service, about to be described, would have enabled the India Government to train up a race of officials who had a deeper knowledge of agricultural customs and a more complete mastery of administrative principles and details. At any and every periodical revision of the Zamíndárí system, abuses must have been tested by increased official knowledge, and remedies would have been applied at an earlier date. This revision would have probably outweighed any disadvantage arising out of the

excitement inseparable from a break in the revenue system. As it has turned out, action for the benefit of tenants and under-tenants has been forced on the Government by the periodical representations of district officers, by the recurrence of formidable combinations on the part of the agriculturists, and by outrages for which magistrates and judges who sat in judgment on their perpetrators were often compelled to remark that there were divers excuses to be made.

Yet it must be remembered that the Settlement of the Lower Provinces a century ago was not due to the cries of a down-trodden community and to a long discussion by well-informed writers in a free and independent press. It was what seemed to some men at the time the only way out of a series of difficulties. Taken in its purely commercial and financial aspect, it resulted in a considerable abandonment of future revenue. As an administrative measure, it obviously required much more of statutory declaration and vigorous executive management to render it complete. But looking at it solely from the political point of view, it was the means of allaying apprehensions and removing doubts, while it proved a strong incentive to good behaviour, and to something beyond passive loyalty in seditious and troublous times.

Some of the fundamental principles of the system were practical and sound. The change from the mere collecting native agent, with his status that might or might not become hereditary; the recognition, as a matter of right, of Rájás, chieftains, and other superior landlords

the grave and measured language of a Proclamation putting an end to brief and temporary contrivances for the realisation of the dues of the State ; the incentives to prudent management afforded by the prospect of additional rental ; and the sense of security, the limited ownership, and power of transmission and disposal, were, in theory, excellent.

Lord Cornwallis had only the experience and legacies of failure to guide him. Pressed for ways and means, and anxious for reform in more departments than' one, he committed himself to a policy which, in regard to the three interested parties—the Zamindár, the Ryot, and the Ruling Power—assured the welfare of the first, somewhat postponed the claims of the second, and sacrificed the increment of the third.

[FROM MR. W. S. SETON-KARR'S *The Marquess Cornwallis*. Rulers of India Series.]

XIII

The Marquess Wellesley.

The Man.

To this illustrious statesman Mr. Torrens gave the title of 'the great Proconsul.' The phrase was an apt one. In the area over which he exercised his delegated powers, in the principles on which he ruled, in his personal character, just, despotic, cultured, Richard Wellesley recalled one of those great governors through whose mighty deeds old Rome left so deep an impress on the nations of East and West. Compared to many of his contemporaries, statesmen of renown, he seems to stand upon another plane; he is not of their world. The petty details of intrigue, the narrow ken of Whig and Tory policy, he is outside all these. What is it to him who is made judge or bishop, it is his to work for great issues and for great issues only. However we may estimate his success as a statesman it is impossible to deny the loftiness or the purity of his aims. Wellesley, though in his own time many of his inferiors distanced him in the race for public position, will ever rank among the greatest men of the century, and the marks that he has left upon the history of his nation will remain while time shall last.

We cannot judge the character, we can but imperfectly estimate the worth till we know of the hero what mannar of man he was. 'His person,' says his earliest biographer, Mr. Pearce, 'was small and symmetrical—his face remarkable for intellectual beauty—and his whole deportment elegant and dignified. He possessed a fine manly

voice, and delivered his sentiments in public with great perspicuity and effect. This is a brief and not very expressive description which the aid of portraits and statues, as well as the memory of many men still living, enables us to eke out.

His was a face which painters were eager to depict. Hoppner, ever sympathetic, painted him before he went out to India, and the portrait, which was exquisitely engraved in mezzotint by Young, is a singularly beautiful work. The complexion is clear and youthful. The keen deep-set eyes look out from under a mass of half-tumbled hair. The mouth is firm but slightly pouting, with a curious contraction of the upper lip. The expression is strangely attractive and winning, as of one who felt deeply and loved much, a poet, a musician, a great writer. But in the alertness of the gaze, the arched nostril, the long straight nose, there are the signs of an eager spirit, bold, commanding, originative. It is a face no one could look on without admiration or without respect. The mien is of one who expected obedience, but who could trust and be trusted.

Later on, Robert Home, a Scotsman who went out to Calcutta and painted many a blond civilian and swarthy Nabáb, drew the Governor-General in his state dress with the star of St. Patrick on his breast. This picture was engraved by Heath in 1804. In 1827 Robertson painted him in his Garter robes—a full-length showy picture of a handsome man of middle age, the hair thin and whitening—dignified, stately, attuned to pomp and pageantry. Most widely known of all the portraits, through the many engravings of it which were produced, is that by Sir

Thomas Lawrence. But it has hardly the sympathy which touches the best work of that gentle master. Here the Marquess is taken with almost full face, in morning dress, the George hanging on his breast. The eye and the eyebrows are characteristic, but the whole picture is rather handsome than expressive. This smooth face, we feel, may be a poet's or that of the head of some ancient house; it does not proclaim the ruler of men.

There is little trace in any of the portraits of the physical delicacy which all Wellesley's contemporaries note. When he was young his health was far from strong, and he was obliged to take great care of himself. His health at eighty-two, vigorous and hale, was the more surprising—so his nephew Gerald told Lord Stanhope a few months before his death—because at half that age it had seemed completely broken. When he went out to India, his brother Henry said, he was both ill and nervous, and he had quite determined to return home from the Cape, but was dissuaded. From his arrival in the East he seemed to win new vigour. 'My health,' he wrote to Lord Auckland in 1799, 'is and has uniformly been much better than it usually was in England; and the pressure and variety of business has been useful to my spirits.' Still there are many allusions in his correspondence to occasional attacks of illness, which beset him in times of anxiety but never prevented his mind from controlling the business and triumphing over the difficulties of his task. His constitution in fact was, like that of many another great man, not robust enough to be trifled with or to lure towards feats of rash experiment or endurance, but capable of meeting a great strain,

strong in reserved force, the servant and not the master of a restless and buoyant will. 'It is difficult,' he once said of his work, 'but in these days difficulties are our daily food, and, for one, I find that I thrive upon it.'

What Wellesley lacked in physical strength he made up in *esprit*. He was well served by a bright sense of humour and a keen and natural Irish wit. He shone in society. In the brilliant circle which met at Holwood and Putney Hill, at Walmer and Wimbledon, he was one of the most brilliant members: in later days, we are told half the beauties of London were at his feet. As a talker he could hold his own with the best: there is a tradition that Madame de Stael when they met at Lansdowne House, had to own his superiority. As an wit his *bons mots* were constantly repeated, and used by his friends.

He was a devoted lover of literature. His own style was modelled, somewhat too closely, on the classics. He admitted, says Lord Brougham, the vast superiority of Demosthenes, but he could not shake off his attachment to Cicero. He was renowned, indeed, among the pedants as a scholar: he could beat the schoolmasters at their own weapons; and, to do them justice, they paid him the homage of which they are not too lavish even to titled poets. He was as well read in the great moderns as in the classics. Again and again in his letters, and even in his despatches, a phrase of Shakespeare's, neatly and appropriately used, catches and delights the attentive ear. The Auction List of his Library shows his extensive acquaintance with the Italian poets. Dante he knew as few men of his age knew him.

His schemes for the improvement of the education of Indian civilians are proofs of the liberality of his own studies. While the foundation was to be laid in a knowledge of the ancient classics of the West, the superstructure was to be built of different material. Like his great predecessor Warren Hastings, he recognised, as too few Englishmen did, the beauties, and the unique position, of the Great Oriental literatures. He personally encouraged and patronized the learned men of Bengal, and under his auspices the talents of his own countrymen were directed towards the scholarship of the East. In his personal character Wellesley could not be accused of the faults into which meaner natures fall. He was proud undeniably, but with the pride of a great, not a small, mind. 'No two brothers,' said Macaulay once, when Wellington and Wellesley were compared, 'were ever so unlike.' Rogers, describing them, said that they gave the most remarkable contrast in history, 'the one scorning all display, the other living for nothing else.' It was a sharp saying, such as the irresponsible conversationalist would readily throw off; and it has a certain superficial justice about it. But Wellesley loved display not for itself but as the outward sign of the dignity with which he was invested. His dressings and his attitudes, his ceremonies, attendances, and processions, his pageantry and extravagances, were part of his conception of the character of a British ruler in the East, or of a Viceroy among a Celtic people. He was tied to a constant series of ceremonial acts: it was clear to him that they lost all their value if they were not performed ceremoniously. Here was the

constrast of his nature to the Englishmen among whom he moved, and who mocked, like Sheridan, at his airs and graces He delighted to impress, and he knew how to be impressive. To him dignity and a seemly order were the due appointments of life, He clung to the ceremonious features of the age before the Revolution. 'His indignation may be imagined,' says the writer of an interesting article in the *Quarterly Review*, 'when, as he was explaining some measure to the Cabinet, Lord Westmoreland leant back in his chair, in true American fashion, with his dirty boots resting on the Council table. Lord Wellesley paused and said: "When the Lord Privy Seal is in a decent attitude, I will proceed with my statement."

Of a piece with his magnificence in entertainment was the attitude which Wellesley assumed towards public works, the arts, and learning. He was not only himself a *virtuoso*; he was a patron in right of his position. Thus we find him, like the great rulers of the Renaissance, busy in schemes for the building and improvement of cities. A minute of June 16, 1803, describes his plans for the improvement of Calcutta. He pointed out the deficiencies of the drainage and of the sanitary arrangements of all kinds. 'It is the primary duty,' he observed, 'of the Government to provide for the health, safety, and convenience of the inhabitants of this great town by establishing a comprehensive system for the improvement of the roads, streets, public dains, and water courses; and by fixing permanent rules for the construction and distribution of the houses and public edifices and for the regulation of nuisances of every description. The ap-

pearance and beauty of the town are inseparably connected with the health, safety, and convenience of the inhabitants, and every improvement which will introduce a greater degree of order, symmetry and magnificence in the streets, roads, ghāts and wharfs, public edifices and private habitations, will tend to ameliorate the climate and to secure and promote every object of a just and salutary system of police.'

We find him discussing in another minute (July 26, 1804) the natural history of India. He appointed Dr. Francis Buchanan 'to collect materials for a correct account of all the most remarkable quadrupeds and birds in the provinces,' and invited information from all the medical officers in India. He established a 'Zoological Garden' at Barrackpur for the assistance of Buchanan's investigation. 'The illustration and improvement of that important branch of the natural history of India which embraces an object so extensive as the description of the principal parts of the animal kingdom is worthy of the munificence and liberality of the English East India Company, and must necessarily prove an acceptable service to the world. To facilitate and promote all enquiries which may be calculated to enlarge the boundaries of general science is a duty imposed on the British Government in India by its present exalted situation.' A year later he issued a valuable minute on the 'Improvement of Agriculture.' 'Independently of the moral duty imposed on the British Government to provide by every means in its power for the improvement of the condition of its subjects, substantial advantages must neces-

sarily be derived by the State from the increased wealth and prosperity of the people.' He proposed to establish an experimental farm at Barrackpur, in which the improvement of the breed of black cattle, the introduction of a more scientific system of agriculture, and the reduction of the expense of preparing the grain for consumption should be studied.

Meantime his achievements place him high in the ranks of our great worthies. He saw and tried to slove the eternal Irish question. He was a Free-trader before the days of the Manchester School. But for him, it may be truly said, it is more than probable that Napoleon would not have been overthrown. It was the Spanish resistance, as the Emperor himself recognised, that really destroyed him: and but for Wellesley's persistency, that resistance would never have been organized and brought to success. To his brother' indomitable and clear-sighted but unostentatious determination, Wellington owed the sinews of war, without which he could not possibly have coped with the French forces. It was Wellesley as well as Wellington who triumphed in the Peninsula.

But it is to his Indian administration incontestably that we look for the proofs of his greatness. As he gazed upon the great Eastern panorama, and then turned to his masters in Leadenhall Street, he may well have thought, 'I know that in this vast land I can create a British Empire, and I know that no other man can.' In India his work remains uneffaced and uneffaceable. He turned the East India Company, in spite of itself, from a trading corporation into an imperial power. He found the

edifice of their rule fashioned of brick : he left it marble. Before his day the exigencies of the moment had guided British governors in a policy which even in the hands of its greatest exponents was empirical. Wellesley laid down lines from which it was impossible for his successors ever wholly to diverge. The experiment indeed was tried : Cornwallis set about to reverse all that he had done, and declared in so many words that his policy was mistaken and unsound. Barlow followed on the same track ; but Wellesley's system triumphed in the end.

He found India the battle-ground of races and of rulers. Every man's hand was against his neighbour. In the atrophy of government and the absence of any central controlling power, society was verging towards the state of nature as Hobbes pictured it. The life of man was, if 'solitary,' often 'nasty, brutish, and short.' Wellesley taught the races where to look for union and for rule. He taught England how to estimate, and to enter upon, her heritage. Vast indeed was the dominion over which he caused the British flag to wave. He destroyed the cruel and threatening Muḥammadan power in the South. He changed Oudh from a danger into a safeguard, and set Bengal free on every side from fear of foreign attack. He paralyzed if he did not destoy hydraheaded confederacy of the Maráthás. He made the name of England honoured from Persia to the Red Sea: and he raised her fame in a way more durable than by military exploits. He taught her rulers, her civilians, her judges, to trust for their power only to the uprightness of their labours, their knowledge of the character and the

learning of the people committed to their charge. But he did more than this. It was the sign of his greatness and the mark of the permanence of his work that he recognised to the full the responsibility cast upon Great Britain. In his attitude towards commerce, diplomacy, war, religion, the same principle was patent and outspoken. In our hands, he would say, are the destinies of this mighty empire—to us belongs its development and its future: it is for England to raise it among the families of the nations—or we shall bear the blame for ever.

[From the Rev. W. H. HUTTON'S *The Marquess Wellesley*. K. G. Rulers of India Series.]

XIV.

INDIA UNDER LORD AMHERST.

1823–1828

IN 1823 Lord Amherst arrived as Governor-General of India. The disposition of the new Governor-General appeared to mark him out for the rôle of a peace minister. But by the not uncommon paradox of fate the pacific Governor-General had hardly taken the oaths of office when he found himself confronted with the possibilities—soon to become certainties—of hostilities more arduous and more expensive than had been dreamt of in the worst nightmare of the most thriftily-minded magnate at the East India House. The period of Lord Amherst's rule was not barren of domestic incidents, if by the word 'incidents' we may be permitted to describe

the stirring of tendencies destined to grow before long into great measures. But his term will be memorable in history for a great war, and a glorious enterprise of arms. The expeditions against Burma marked the renewal, after the repose of thousands of years of the march of the Aryans eastwards. Many centuries before Christ, the race had poured through the passes of the Hindu Kush into the land of the Five Rivers, had settled in the vast expanse of the Ganges valley, and pushed on wherever the soil was tempting in highlands and coast tracts of the Deccan. But having thrust aside the peoples of other origin the Aryans appeared content to rest. The mountainous region which divides India from China was the limit of their wanderings. Isolated immigrations there might have been of Bráhmans or of Rájputs but there was no wave of conquest to the east of the Bay of Bengal. Up to the time when Lord Amherst reluctantly accepted the protection of our own soil and the effectual chastisement of Burmese insolence, the basin of the Irawadi was a region beyond the thoughts and almost beyond the the knowledge of Anglo-Indian statesmen. On the west the progress of Russian arms against Persia, the intrigues which were set on foot, and the combinations which were devised by Napoleon Bonaparte in his palmy days had suggested to the immediate predecessors of Lord Amherst the necessity of cultivating friendly relations with the Court of Teheran and with the great Sikh State on the Indus, which was in the eyes of the diplomatists of the East India Company very much what Afghanistan is at present to the Foreign Office. But with the races and politics beyond our

eastern border we had little concern. Missions, indeed, of the most modest character had been sent to Ava with a view to settling some border troubles, but we had no notion of extending our political activity to the valley of the Irawadi. Yet as the consequence of that first step taken by Lord Amherst, the British standard has been advanced not only beyond the royal cities of the Burmese, but carried up the Irawadi to the very confines of China, and along the tributaries of the great stream, among wild tribes that hardly owned even a nominal allegiance to the lords of the white elephant. This process of undesigned and undesired absorption has added the Celestial Empire to the list of powers with which the rulers of India have to make their account; while it has brought us into perilous contact with the French possessions in Indo-China, and with adventurous soldiers who would fain recover for the arms of the Republic the Empire in the East of which Dupleix dreamt and for which he plotted.

From another point of view the Burmese war marks a stage in the political relations of creeds. Buddhism had its birth in India. From India came the missionaries who won vast populations in Eastern Asia to belief in the teachings of Gautama. But the religion is extinct in the land where its founder was born and where for many centuries after his death it flourished. In the struggle with Bráhmanism the simpler faith of Sákya Muni was worsted, its edifices destroyed, and its votaries exterminated, and so for ages the cults dwelt apart. But when the Hindu Sepoys occupied Rangoon, they found themselves in a Buddhist land. When contemplating the

gorgeous pagodas which occasionally served either them or the enemy as fortresses, the Bráhman soldiers might have meditated on the strange fate that again brought the votaries of Siva with hostile intent to the sancturies of the milder sage.

The siege of Bharatpur was an episode so stirring and splendid in itself that it seems superfluous to inquire as to its historic significance. If the expeditions against Burma were momentous by their consequences, they cannot be said on the balance of triumph and reverse to have been altogether flattering to British Pride. But the storming of Bharatpur, had it been merely a chivalrous blunder, would still have counted for much as a factor in that abiding element of strength—the military prestige of our name.

It has, however, a distinct place in the evolution of British Power throughout India. It was the brilliant conclusion of the series of arduous labours by which English supremacy had been asserted in Northern India—by which the Maráthá power had been completely crushed, and by which the last faint hope cherished by the puppet emperor at Delhi, or by Rohillá desperadoes, or Rájput princes, or ját chiefs, was once for all dispelled. The *Pax Britannica* was then definitely extended to the Indus, and though a score of years later the lesson of submission had to be enforced at Gwalior, the victory at Bharatpur may be regarded as establishing the undisputed right of the East India Company to maintain peace and order within the limits of Hisdustan and the Deccan.

[From Anne Thackeray Ritchie's and Richardson Evans' *Lord Amherst* Rulers of India Series.]

XV.

The English in India 80 years ago.

1820–1830.

This seems the place to attempt some account of the English estabishments through which India was held and administered in the first years of Lord Amherst's governorship; of the communities of planters, merchants, traders, which enjoyed the protection of the Company; and of the relations of those who laboured in the East with the supreme masters of fate at home.

The Charter under which the Company governed was the Act of 1793, slightly modified by that of 1813. The Directors were masters, subject always to the power of the Crown exercised through the Board of Commissioners. So in India there were three responsible Vicegerents—one for each presidency; but the Governor-General of Bengal had the primacy in theory and in fact. Sir Thomas Munro as Governor of Madras, or Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone as Governor of Bombay, had immediate concern for the internal affairs of those presidencies; but for the polities of India as a whole, the Governor and his Council at Fort William exercised conclusive authority. Distance and difficulty of communication is a factor in the Indian life of those days for which the modern reader sometimes fails to make due allowance.

The Furlough Regulations throw an interesting light on the conditions of an Indian appointment. Seventy

years ago no one was entitled to leave till he had served ten years in India ; but to make amends there is a warning that any one who does not return within five years—five years at home !—will forfeit his post. The East India College at Haileybury was already a flourishing institution. All nominees for writerships had to study there for four terms, no one being eligible whose age exceeded twenty-two.

The Civil Servants are divided still into classes under the old fashioned titles of Senior Merchants, Junior Merchants, Factors and Writers. Mr. Brooke, who was Senior Judge of the Court of Appeal at Benares, had been appointed to the Service in 1768.

"Mr. Brooke," writes Bishop Heber in Sept. 1824, "has been fifty-six years in India, being the oldest of the Company's resident servants. He is a very fine healthy old man, his manners singularly courteous and benevolent, and his tone, in speaking Hindustáni and Persian, such as marks a man who has been in the habit of conversing much with natives of high rank.' Since the days of Lord Wellesley, however, the Civil Service had been growing into very much its present form and bulk. The absence of the 'Uncovenanted' element will be remarked. We may take Moradábád, which was one of the districts most remote from the seat of government, as an illustration of the ordinary arrangement. The station staff consisted of a Judge, a Collector, a Registrar, a Second Registrar, and a Surgeon. It is interesting to know that the cutchery, 'a large and handsome house,' was approached through 'a very splendid gateway as

lodge.' But very significant of the condition of the country is the fact that this place of justice was surrounded by a mud rampart, with a deep moat and four small circular bastions. When the pile was built such a precaution was 'in this part of India not undesirable.' Indeed, even now the villages in this tract are more or less fortified. Altogether in Bengal, including what is now the North-Western Provinces, about 200 English officers were engaged in judicial and executive district work. Less than half that number served for Madras, while Bombay had a still smaller share. A most important branch was, of course the establishment of Residents or Minor Diplomatic Agents at Native Courts.

Compared with the civil list, the list of military officers is of enormous length. But many of them were engaged in civil work. Indeed, in the early days of the Company, no distinction at all was drawn between liability to service in the field and at the desk; and to the end of our rule the army will no doubt furnish British India with able administrators as well as gallant defenders.

The College at Fort William was the place where the newly arrived nominees to the Civil Service got their training—where they were supposed to learn the language, and at any rate get acquainted with each other and see something of life. The Asiatic Society, with its long list of members, showed that there was scholarlike taste and archæological ardour among those who had to face the rough and tumble of affairs.

But of special interest to us in a survey of this kind is the careful register kept of 'European inhabitants'—other

than covenanted servants. Far the largest portion of these were in Bengal. Scattered throughout the Presidency or collected at Calcutta were about 2,500, who classed as Europeans, and whose names in very few instances suggest Eurasian origin. Many of the trades which have since been learnt by natives were then probably almost confined to white men. 'Mariners,' as a matter of course, abounded at Calcutta and other ports. Indigo planters were numerous in many districts of Bengal, though none seem to have established themselves to the west of the Benares Division. Lord Amherst gives a very bad account of the men who were at the time in charge of the factories. The members of this class, whose cruelty and oppression led to their expulsion from British jurisdiction, had the effrontery to come to England and furnish Mr. Hume with a statement of their grievances, which that humanitarian politician utilized as an item in his acrimonious indictment of the absent Governor-General. Cawnpur and Fatehgarh—the great seats of English power in the pioneer days—had large mercantile communities of Englishmen. The trader invariably follows the advance of cantonments. There were many missionaries. Jewellers were in request. We find even a European 'scavenger.' An Englishman kept an 'asylum for insanes' at Bhawánípur. At Patná resided a jockey. A miniature painter, a teacher of the piano, and a nurseryman contributed to the amenities of the capital. Meerut boasted a schoolmaster. An Inspector of Empty Houses earned an honest livelihood. So did many firms of wine merchants. French millinery was on sale by a European milliner. The *Oriental Mercury* required

printers, a publisher, and even an editor. One is anxious to know how the Mr. Lumley who tried 'farming' at at Meertut succeeded. Horatio Nelson—out of pure perversity—chose to be a land survéyor. But we must not linger over the dingy list of those who lived life as it was lived in India seventy years ago, whose very memories have passed away, and who lie—most of them—in some neglected graveyard under the graceless pyramidal pile of brick and stucco, which it was the fashion of the time to erect as the tomb of the European. In the month of May, 1823, there were twenty-nine deaths—mostly of of women and children. There were ten weddings.

Let us add—to conclude this sketch of the social atoms—that fifteen advocates practised in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, and that seventy-five Attorneys and Public Notaries tendered their services to litigants.

Such was the personnel of soeiety. But the foreign element in it was not wholly English. We read of a Milanese eccleriastic at Dinápur, who was the Roman Catholic Bishop of Thibet. He was not exempt from the strange fatality which attended the first four Anglican bishops. After a short residence he died. At Benares there was quite a cosmopolitan community, including Persians, Turks, Tartar, an accomplished and versatile Greek, and a Russian, who had the Muscovite gift of making himself mystertious.

An extract from a work published in 1827 (Alexander's *Travels from India to England)* will serve our purpose particularly well, since it gives the impression of a sightseer.

The first appearance of Calcutta, to a stranger is very grand and imposing: the public buildings, mostly of the Grecian order, are extremely handsome: porticoes, colonnades, and piazzas abound everywhere. The river was crowded with shipping, chiefly European, with budgerows, bodies, and other India craft.........

'In the evening the course was crowded with gay equipages till sunset. The course is a broad road round a grass quadrangle adjoining the splendid palace of Government, and bounded on two sides by the lofty and handsome building of Chowringhee. It commands a view of the river and of Fort William.

'The appearance of Lord Amherst on this scene did not exactly correspond with what might have been expected from the Governor-General of India, though it accorded with his unassuming character. He rode in plain clothes, on a white horse, not remarkable for its beauty, attended by a single aide-de-camp, and couple of troopers of the bodyguard, who were dressed in red hussar jackets, with silver lace, leather breeches and long boots, caps and feathers. Lady Amherst appeared in a better style, accompanied by her daughter and an aide-de-camp, in a smart carriage and four. An esco t of the bodyguard attended in front rear. The vehicles on the course were of every build, from the dashing, landau to the humble buggy. Some of the ladies sported bare arms, and were unbonneted: a few of the gentlemen promenaded in white jakets, without hats. Rich natives, baboos and others were lounging in their coaches; among them were the representatives of the pacha of Egypt, the Imaun of Muscat, &c. The Strand is a street which leads along the river, and resorted to by the more sober and unostentatious portion of the inhabitans. Here were several bautiful Armenian ladies golden diadems, the lower parts of their faces muffled in white veils, who were enjoying in their carriages the cool, breeze from the river......

'During this month (February) plays were occasionally perfromed by amateurs; balls and parties were frequent among the

Europeans, and nautches among the natives. One of the latter was given by Baboo Russum Doss Moolk (reported to be worth 100 lakhs) on occasion of the marriage of his son. The saloon in which we assembled was brilliantly lighted up with wax candles in expensive cut-glass chandeliers. The natives sat on chairs and couches; many of them wore English stockings, shoes, and kid gloves, which made a ridiculous addition to their Oriental costumes.'

Elephants, it appears, were not allowed in Calcutta or within five miles of it, but at Barrackpur they were in order. "That which Lord Amherst rode," says Bishop Heber, "was a very noble fellow, dressed up in splendid trappings, which were a present from the King of Oudh.

[From ANNE. THACKERARY RITCHIE'S AN RICHARDSON EVANS' *Lord Amherst*, RULERS OF INDIA SERIES.]

XVI.

THE SECOND MARATHA WAR.

1802–1803.

AT this time—when Tipú had fallen, and the Nizam of Haidarábád and also the Nawáb of Oudh had meekly accepted the treaties forced on them—the Maráthás were the only native power remaining independent in India Lord Wellesley, in pursuance of his resolute policy to make the British paramount throughout the peninsula, was determined to impose the subsidiary system upon the Maráthás also. This idea was not welcome to all his lieutenants, not even to his brother Arthur. But the Governor-General himself never wavered, being greatly influenced by fear lest the French officers in Maráthá

service should furnish local support for an invasion by Napoleon. At first, he tried diplomatic pressure ; but his proposals were rejected by both Sindia and the Bhonsla Rájá of Nágpur, nor did they meet with much more acceptance at Poona. Just when it seemed that Lord Wellesley would be compelled to commence hostilities, a fortunate turn of events enabled him to shift the responsibility for aggression upon the Maráthás. The treaty of Bassein, which placed the Peshwa in his power, was the direct cause of the Second Maráthá War.

The reigning Peshwa—the last of his line—was Bájí Ráo, still young in years, but surrounded from childhood by an atmosphere of treachery, bloodshed, and anarchy. The military supremacy had passed to the rival houses of Sindia and Holkar, who fought a series of battles for the Peshwa, whom they still affected to regard as their national chief. When Elphinstone arrived at Poona, in the beginning of 1802, the influence of Sindia was in the ascendant. Just a little earlier, the Peshwa had condemned Vitují Holkar, who had fallen into his hands, to a horrible death : he was tied to the foot of an elephant and thus dragged through the streets of the city. To avenge this outrage on his brother Jeswant Ráo Holkar collected a large army, with which he defeated Sindia's French trained battalions, and appeared before Poona. The Peshwa sought the protection of the British, but in vain ; for he was not yet humbled enough to accept the subsidiary system, which alone Close was empowered to offer. In the decisive battle fought outside Poona on the 25th of October, 1802, Holkar was again victorious. The

Peshwa fled to the Konkan, whither he was followed by Colonel Close. He was now willing to consent to any conditions, provided he could recover his throne. On the last day of the year he signed the treaty of Bassein, which aimed a fatal blow at Maráthá independence. By one of its terms the Peshwa agreed to have no diplomatic relations except through the British Resident. That the other Maráthá Chiefs should acquiesce in the degradation of the head of their race, was impossible; nor is it likely that Bájí Ráo himself intended to be bound longer than he could help. But the Governor-General had made all his preparations for such an emergency, and welcomed the war that followed. General Arthur Wellesley, his brother, was ordered to advance north-wards from Mysore, and restore the Peshwa. This he did by forced marches, accomplishing the last sixty miles into Poona within thirty-two hours. Holkar retired before him, and for the time remained quiet in his dominions. But Sindia and the Bhonsla Rájá of Nágpur refused to accept the new order of things, and moved their allied forces into the Deccan, menacing both Poona and Haidarábád.

After some months of idle negotiation, which allowed the English to perfect their military plans, war was declared early in August, 1803. Lord Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, with about 16,000 men, was entrusted with the task of expelling Sindia's disciplined battalions under French commad from Hindustan proper. Another army of equal strength, divided between General Arthur Wellesley and General Stevenson, operated against the

combined forces of Sindia and the Bhonsla in the Deccan; while a smaller army was detached for the invasion of Orissa, then part of the Nágpur State. Brilliant success attended each of the three campaigns. Before the end of the year both Sindia and the Bhonsla were compelled to accept hard conditions of peace, which stripped them of large tracts of territory, and left them comparatively harmless for the future. Holkar forthwith took up arms: and with divided counsels, victory was no longer chained to the English standards. The disastrous retreat of Colonel Monson through Central India pursued by Holkar, and Lord Lake's repulse before the earthen walls of Bharatpur, tarnished our military fame; while the abandonment of the Rájput princes and other allies to the tender mercies of Holkar and his Pindárís, impaired our reputation for good faith. Lord Wellesley, however, had left India before this final humiliation.

In August, 1803, General Wellesley besieged the fortress of Ahmadnagar, reputed to be impregnable; but after two days' bombardment, the garrison capitulated.

By the capture of Ahmadnagar, the Peshwa's dominions were secured from invasion. General Wellesley's next care was to protect the territory of the Nizam, and, if possible, to force the enemy to fight. About a month was consumed in a series of zigzag marches, the position of the enemy from day to day being concealed by a cloud of Pindarí horse, until at last they were discovered on the further side of a little river, near the village of Assaye (now in the Nizam's Dominions). The Maráthá army consisted of some 30,000 irregular cavalry, 10,000

disciplined troops and about 100 guns well served. General Wellesley had only about 4500 men, of whom one regiment of cavalry and two of infantry were Europeans. But he did not hesitate to attack immediately, without waiting for the co-operation of Stevenson, who was distant about eight miles. The battle was most hotly contested, being a succession of cavalry and infantry charges in the face of a heavy fire. More than once the issue seemed doubtful, and it has been said that under any other commander Assaye would have been a British defeat. But Wellesley conducted in person the several movements of horse, foot, and artillery, and everywhere inspired victory by his presence. At last the Maráthás fled in disorder, leaving all their guns behind them. But the victory was dearly purchased. One English regiment lost 400 out of its complement of 500 men; and the total of killed and wounded amounted to more than one-third of the entire force. The pursuit after Assaye was entrusted to Stevenson's force, while Wellesley continued his strategy of marching and countermarching, to prevent the enemy from over-running the friendly territories of the Peshwa or the Nizam.

Meanwhile it seemed as if Lake's series of crushing victories in Hindustán would have ended the war. Sindia was already disposed to sue for peace; but the resistance of the Bhonsla was not yet broken, and more fighting remained. On the 29th of November, just two months after Assaye, the enemy was again encountered on the wide plain that takes its name from the little village of Argáum, in Berár. The greater part were under the

command of the brother of the Bhonsla, including a picked regiment of Arab infantry—who seem, indeed, throughout the Maráthá wars to have proved more formidable than the French-trained battalions; while Sindia contributed a large body of horse. On the side of the English, Wellesley and Stevenson had now joined their forces. The battle did not begin until late in the afternoon. At first, the Sepoys, who had been so staunch at Assaye, were thrown into confusion by the heavy cannonade, until rallied by Wellesley in person. A European regiment encountered the Arabs; while Wellesley led his Madras cavalry against the Maráthá horse, who offered but a feeble resistance. Before sunset the enemy were in full flight, while the loss on the English side was insignificant 'If we had daylight an hour more, not a man would have escaped.'

The war was now over, so far as opposition in the field was concerned. Both Sindia and the Bhonsla were willing to accept the British terms. The hill-fortress of Gáwalgarh was taken on the 15th of December. As to the final arrangements for peace, the actual treaty was dictated by Elphinstone to the Persian writers that very night, and was signed on the evening of the next day by the agent of the Bhonsla. The peace with Sindia, known in history as the Treaty of Surji Anjangáon, was not finally settled until thirteen days later, the 30th of December, 1803.

[FROM MR. J. S. COTTON'S *Mountstuart Elphinstone*, RULERS OF INDIA SERIES.]

XVII.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

IN 1869 Lord Mayo directed me to visit the Indian Presidencies and provinces. I was to gain a knowledge of the different provincial systems by which the State discharged its fundamental duty as owner of the soil, and of the local variations in administrative methods to which those differences in the land-system gave rise.

The part of India which struck me as the most interesting in this respect was Bombay; for in that Presidency the problems of State-ownership in the land are presented in their most direct and irreducible terms. In other provinces of India the Government deals with great landholders, or with coparcenary village bodies, or with peasant proprietors or occupiers. In Bombay it deals with each field. The State fixes its demand by laying out the whole arable area into little blocks, and classifying the the natural qualities of the soil in each.

Further experience disclosed how profoundly the whole scheme of administration in Bombay is affected by this extremely direct form of State-ownership in the land. In Bengal with its large proprietors intermediate between the state and the cultivator, a District Officer is seldom in tents for more than sixty days in the cold weather and spends the remaining ten months of the year under the shelter of a good roof. In the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab with their village communities and coparcenary bodies, the ordinary District staff, not specially told off for settlement work, may spend perhaps ninety

days of their longer cold season on tour through their districts. But in Bombay the period under canvas, and in defiance of the more vertical sun, is nearer 180 or 200 days. Indeed, the good Assistant Collector of the Bombay Presidency is the young man who is only driven into the Station from his tent life among the villagers by the deluge of the monsoon.

Not less interesting are the native races among whom this very precise form of State-ownership has been introduced. In Northern India the most quickwitted people with whom the British system has come into contact are the inhabitants of Lower Bengal. But the Bengalis, notwithstanding their capacity for administrative work, have never been a govening class. On the other hand, the Maráthás of the Bombay Presidency were essentially both a conquering and a governing race in India. It was they who gave the *coup de grâce* to the Mughal Empire, and who pounded to pieces the States which that Empire left behind. On the ruins they very nearly succeeded in erecting a Hindu Empire of their own. The provinces which they did not seize upon and actually subjugate to their own authority, they laid under a heavy tribute. The British did not conquer India from the Mughal Emperors. Nor did they conquer India chiefly from the revolted Muhammadan Viceroys of those Emperors. The final British conquest of India (apart from the Punjab) was mainly effected by three wars with the Maráthás, and by the subjection of the five Maráthá Houses who had parcelled out the provinces of the 'Great Mogul.' The destruction of the Maráthá power not only gave us the

larger part of the Bombay Presidency, but also removed the last rival for the over-lordship of India.

The practical working out of the most direct form of British State-ownership in the soil among the most aggressive of the Hindu military races in India is full of significant problems. In no other province has the impact of the British land-system been so capable of resisting it.

Another feature of the Bombay Presidency which struck me in 1869, was the many-sided character of the interests with which the Government has to deal. Not only does it contain four distinct British provinces, each inhabited by a well-defined population speaking a language of its own, but it controls a vast collection of Native States that have not been brought under direct English Rule. These Native States are the survivals of a condition of things which in some parts of India has almost disappeared. In no other presidency do the Native States occupy so large a proportionate area or furnish so considerable a part of the population. Nor are they in any other Province so intricately interlaced with the British districts. Bombay presents an object-lesson of British and Feudatory Rule in the closest contact with each other, without analogy on an equal scale in any other part of India.

Bombay is, moreover, the essentially maritime province of India. In length of seaboard it may be rivalled by Madras. But the Madras coast is destitute of harbours, and its open roadsteads during many months of each year lie at the mency of the monsoon. The great port of Bengal, Calcutta, is really a river emporium, whose

communications with the sea are only kept open by a marvellous combination of human energy and skill.

The Bombay Presidency contains the ancient historical harbours of India, long since decayed and silted up. It was also the chief scene of that Indian maritime activity which in its early phase, took the form of pirate fleets, and now finds vent in lawful commerce. The modern port of Bombay is one of the largest, safest, and most beautiful harbours in the world. The Port of Karáchi, with its railway system tapping the long valley of the Indus and the wheat-bearing plains of the Punjab, is one of the world's harbours of the future. On the southern coast, Kárwár and Marmagáo afford fair facilities for sea-borne trade during the greater part of the year.

This distinctively maritime character of the Bombay Presidency affects many questions connected with its local administration. But perhaps its most conspicuous result is the commercial activity which it has developed. That commercial activiy is on one side essentially of a modern type. But on another side it is the natural evolution of the native methods of ancient trade. Commerce in Bombay thus helps to bridge over the gulf between the old and the new order of things in India, to a degree unknown in the other provinces. At this day the bankers' guild in Surat devotes a part of the fees that it levies on bills of exchange to animal-hospitals; true survivals of King Asoka's second edict, which provided a system of medical aid for beasts, 250 years before Chirst.

Bombay is essentially the progressive Province of India on the mordern commercial basis, yet its progress has its

roots deep in a conservatism of its own. The competition of races, European and Indian, although as keen as in any other province, is tempered by common interests, mutual forbearance, and a cetain reciprocal respect, which impart a moderation to Bombay public opinion and to the Bombay press in political crises.

[FROM SIR WILLIAM HUNTER'S *Bombay 1885-1890.* FROWDE.]

XVIII.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S ADMINISTRATION.

1828-1835.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S departure from Calcutta, on 20th March, 1835, in the full height of his reputation, and when the task of reform in India had reached its end, contrasted with the circumstances of his sudden and enforced exit from Madras in 1807. Even the sore feeling in the services from his interference with what were regarded as cherished perquisites did not prevent their cordial expression of the opinion that he had done good work in India, and that his administration formed an epoch in the history of our government of the country. Among the natives the feeling of regret was naturally more acute, and found louder expression because in him they lost the friend and vindicator who, first among their English rulers, held out to them the prospect of equal rights and an honourable share in the government. Expression was given to their gratitude by the statue erected by

public (and chiefly native) subscription to his memory, which forms a prominent ornament of the city of Calcutta, and which bears an inscription prepared by his friend and coadjutor, Macaulay.

Lord William Bentinck went to India as a reformer, and he fully and honourably realised the character in which he was sent out by the East India Company. He began his work by placing the impaired finances of the Indian Government on a firm and satisfactory basis, not merely by converting a deficit into a surplus, but by effecting permanent economies and creating new sources of revenue. He carried out several great measures of reform which were necessary, not only in the interests of governed and governing, but also in order to demonstrate the earnest desire of the Company to consider the welfare of its subjects. He was the first to put in practice the loftier ideal of Indian Government, which had insensibly grown up after the Warren Hasting's trial.

If Lord William Bentinck had many admirers, it is not surprising, considering the acts of his administration, to find that he had also enemies and detractors. But what would have been the stability of the English position in India if we had persisted in governing the country with a mere handful of our own officials, excluding the native from all superior administrative work, and either augmenting our expenses or diminishing our revenue in accordance as we kept many or few European officials? It would be going too far to assert that to-day there would not be a British India at all. We content ourselves

by saying that it would be a British India of which we should have less reason to be proud than of that which exists, and also that it would be less secure.

By enabling the revenues of India to meet all the charges of a foreign government he added to the strength and durability of our position in India, and his anxiety to augment our military forces in the country, and to oppose a Russian advance on India with a suitable foreign policy, showed that he would be no party to anything tending to weaken our hold upon the country. The more carefully Lord William Bentinck's Indian career is considered, the more evident will it appear that his part in consolidating British authority in India was a great and honourable one. To him it was due that the peoples of India were first convinced that a main factor in our policy was a disinterested desire for their own welfare. Although to him fell less of the pomp and circumstance of war which has formed so prominent a feature of our history in that country, and more of unattractive internal reform, he can never be excluded from the list of eminent rulers who made India a British possession, and who have kept it so, as much by the tacit assent of the subject population as by superior force.

[From Mr. D. C. Boulger's *Lord William Bentinck* Rulers of India Series.]

XIX.

THE ABOLITION OF WIDOW BURNING.

MINUTE BY LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK 1829.

WHETHER the question be to continue or to discontinue the practice of *sati*, the decison is equally surrounded by an awful responsibility. To consent to the consignment year after year of hundreds of innocent victims to a cruel and untimely end when the power exists of preventing it, is a predicament which no conscience can contemplate without horror. But, on the other hand, if herefore received opinions are to be considered of any value, to put to hazard by a contrary course the very safety of the British Empire in India, and to extinguish at once all hopes of those great improvements—affecting the condition not of hundreds and thousands but of millions—which can only be expected from the continuance of our supremacy, is an alternative which even in the light of humanity itself may be considered as a still greater evil. It is upon this first and highest consideration alone, the good of mankind, that the tolerance of this inhnman and impious rite can in my opinion be justified on the part of the Government of a civilised nation. While the solution of this question is appalling from the unparalleled magnitude of its possible results, the considerations belonging to it are such as to make even the stoutest mind distrust its decision. On the one side, Religion, Humanity, under the most appalling form, as well as vanity and ambition—in short, all the most powerful influences over the human heart—are arrayed to bias and mislead the judgment.

On the other side, the sanction of countless ages, the example of the Musalman conquerors, the unanimous concurrence in the same policy of our own most able rulers, together with the universal veneration of the people, seem authoritatively to forbid, both to feeling and to reason, any interference in the exercise of their natural prerogative. Prudence and self-interest would counsel me to tread into footsteps of my predecessors. But in a case of such momentous importance to humanity and civilisation that man must be reckless of all his present or future happiness who could listen to the dictates of so wicked and selfish a policy. With the firm undoubting conviction entertained upon this question, I should be guilty of little short of the crime of multiplied murder if I could hesitate in the performance of this solemn obligation. I have been alredy stung with this feeling. Every day's delay adds a victim to the dreadful list, which might perhaps have been prevented by a more early submission of the present question. But during the whole of the present year much public agitation has been excited, and when discontent is abroad, when exaggerations of all kinds are busily circulated, and when the native army have been under a decree of alarm lest their allowances should suffer with that of their European officers, it would have been unwise to have given a handle to artful and designing enemies to disturb the public peace. The recent measures of Government for protecting the interests of the Sepoys against the late reduction of companies will have removed all apprehension of the intentions of Government; and the consideration of this circumstance having been the sole cause of hesitation on

my part, I will now proceed, praying the blessing of God upon our counsels to state the grounds upon which my opinion has been formed.

Of all those who have given their advice against the abolition of the rite, and have described the ill effects likely to ensue from it, there is no one to whom I am disposed to pay greater deference than Mr. Horace Wilson. I purposely select his opinion because, independently of his vast knowledge of Oriental literature, it has fallen to his lot, as secretary to the Hindu College, and possessing the general esteem both of the parents and of the youths, to have more confidential intercourse with natives of all classes than any man in India. While his opportunity of obtaining information has been great beyond all others, his talents and judgment enable him to form a just estimate of its value. I shall state the most forcible of his reasons, and how far I do and do not agree with him.

1st. Mr. Wilson considers it to be a dangerous evasion of the real difficulties to attempt to prove that *satis* are not 'essentially a part of the Hindu religion.' I entirely agree in this opinion. The question is not what the rite is but what it is supposed to be, and I have no dobt that the conscientious belief of every order of Hindus, with few exceptions, regard it as sacred.

2nd. Mr. Wilson thinks that the attempt to put down the practice will inspire extensive dissatisfaction. I agree also in this opinion. He thinks that success will not be partial, which I doubt. He does not imagine that the

promulgated prohibition will lead to any immediate and overt act of insubordination, but that affrays and much agitation of the public mind must ensue. But he conceives that if once they suspect that it is the intention of the British Government to abandon this hitherto inviolate principle of allowing the most complete toleration in matters of religion that there will arise in the minds of all so deep a distrust of our ulterior designs that they will no larger be tractable to any arrangement intended for their improvement, and that the principle of a purer morality, as well as of a more virtuous and exalted rule of action, now actively inculcated by European education and knowledge, will receive a fatal check. I must acknowledge that a similar opinion as to the probable excitation of a deep distrust of our future intentions was mentioned to me in conversation by that enlightened native, Ram Mohan Roy, a warm advocate for the abolition of *sati* and of all other superstitions and corruptions engrafted on the Hindu religion, which he considers originally to have been a pure Deism. It was his opinion that the practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police. He apprehended that any public enactment would give rise to general apprehension that the reasoning would be, 'While the English were contending for power they deemed it politic to allow universal toleration and to respect our religion, but having obtained the supremacy their first act is a violation of their profession, and the next will probably be, like the Muhammadan conquerors, to force upon us their own religion.'

It must be first observed that of the 463 *satis* occurring in the whole of the Presidency of Fort William, 420 took place in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, or what is termed the Lower Provinces, and of these latter 287 in the Calcutta Division alone. Were the scene of this sad destruction of human life laid in the Upper instead of the Lower Provinces, in the midst of a bold and manly people, I might speak with less confidence upon the question of safety. In these Provinces the *satis* amount to forty-three only upon a population of nearly twenty millions. Having made inquiries, also, how far *satis* are permitted in the European foreign settlements, I find from Dr. Carey that at Chinsurah no such sacrifices had ever been permitted by the Dutch Government. That within the limits of Chandarnagar itself they were also prevented, but allowed to be performed in the British territories. The Danish Government of Serampur has not forbidden the rite, in conformity to the example of the British Government.

The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindus. I know nothing so important to the improvement of their future condition as the establishment of a purer morality, whatever their belief, and a more just conception of the will of God. The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder. They will then, when no longer under this brutalising excitement, view with more calmness acknowledged truths. They will see that there can be no inconsistency in the ways of Providence, that to the command received

as divine by all races of men, 'No innocent blood shall be spilt,' there can be no exception ; and when they shall have been convinced of the error of this first and most criminal of their customs, may it not be hoped that others, which stand in the way of their improvement, may likewise pass away, and that thus emancipated from those chains and shackles upon their minds and actions, they may no longer continue, as they have done, the slaves of every foreign conqueror, but that they may assume their first places among the great families of mankind ? I disown in these remarks, or in this measure, any view whatever to their conversion to our own faith. I write and feel as a legislator for the Hindus, and as I believe, many enlightened Hindus think and feel.

Descending from these higher considerations, it cannot be a dishonest ambition that the Government of which I form a part should have the credit of an act which is to wash out a foul stain upon British rule, and to stay the sacrifice of humanity and justice to a doubtful expediency; and finally, as a branch of the general administration of the Empire, I may be permitted to feel deeply anxious that our course shall be in accordance with the noble example set to us by the British Government at home, and that the adoption, when practicable to the circumstances of this vast Indian population, of the same enlightened principles, may promote here as well as there the general prosperity, and may exalt the character of our nation.

[FROM LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S *Minute of November 8th 1829.*]

XX.

The Conquest of the Punjab.

1848–49.

Lord Dalhousie, the youngest ruler of India since Clive, and with his only administrative experience gained from a few years' work in the English Board of Trade, succeeded a veteran soldier and statesman as Governor-General. On the 12th of January, 1848, Lord Hardinge, the friend of Wellington and one of the heroic figures of the Peninsular War, closed his four years of eventful administration. The old soldier made over India to the young civilian in a state of profound peace. The nearly ten years of warfare which followed the aggression of Lord Auckland upon Afghánistán, had ended in what promised to be a permanent calm.

The first Sikh War, in 1845-46, annexed the eastern districts of the Punjab to the British possessions, and placed the upper plains of the Indus and Five Rivers under a British Protectorate. Lord Hardinge, on assuming the government of the Sikh territories during the minority of the infant Sikh Sovereign, Dhulip Singh, had partially disbanded the Sikh troops, and materially strengthened our own army. The Sikh troops were cut down from 85,000 men and 350 guns concentrated in a commanding position to 24,000 men and 50 guns, dispersed over the whole Punjab. Our own army, even after a recent reduction of 50,000 men, was still 70,000 stonger than at the last Indian peace.

After their crushing defeat at Sobráon on the 10th

February, 1846, Lord Hardinge was merely acting in accordance with the traditions of Indian policy, in attempting to obtain a control over the Punjab without actually saddling himself with its administration. How that attempt failed, in spite of much excellent work which is accomplished, is told with admirable force and fulness of detail, in the lives of the two great brothers, who, during 1846—47, alternately ruled as Resident at Lahore, Henry and John Lawrence. The Treaty of March, 1846, had after intrigue, conspiracy, and rebellion, to be drawn tighter by the condemnation of the Prime Minister and paramour of the Queen Mother, and by the Treaty of December in the same year. By this treaty Sir Henry Lawrence, as head of the Council of Regency at Lahore, became the ruler of the Punjab until the child Prince should reach the age of majority.

As a matter of fact he was only the chief figure amid a loosely-subjected crowd of ambitious military nobles. The Sikh leaders regarded the condemnation of the Prime Minister and the forced seclusion of the Queen Mother from public affairs, as a new chance for themselves. The Queen Mother perfectly understood the situation, and went to work with new machinations of amorous and polical intrigue, in the hope of deriving her own advantage from the nominal supremacy of the British. When officially rebuked for the open treason talked in her *darbárs*, she replied to the Resident with bitter irony; scarcely deigning to use the veil of a Persian idiom to disguise her arrogant claims to the sovereign power.

Lord Hardinge as a sequel to the first Sikh war in 1846 had placed the Punjab under a regency of Sikh nobles, controlled by an English Resident at Lahore, during the minority of the infant Prince Dhulip Singh. In the fulfilment of his duty our Resident at Lahore required the powerful Sikh Governor of Múltán to render an account of his stewardship. This potentate, known to history as the Diwán Múlráj, held an almost semi-independent position in the middle valley of the Indus, and carried on an enormous mixed business of merchandise and government at his capital, the ancient river emporium Múltan.

After various delays and makeshifts the Sikh trader-prince preferred, or thought he preferred, to resign, rather than to render up his accounts. His offer was immediately perhaps too abruptly, accepted by our Resident at Lahore. Two young English officers, Mr. Vans Agnew of the Civil Service and Lieutenant Anderson, were sent to take over the government and fortress of Múltán from Múlráj, and to install the new Sikh Governor appointed by ourselves. On their arrival in April 1848 at Múltán, after Múlráj had submissively given up the fortress on the 19th, and the two young English officers were returning with a slender escort to their camp, a fanatical soldier rushed out of the mob, and stabbed Vans Agnew on his shoulder. Lieutenant Anderson was cut down and the escort bore off their two officers covered with blood to the Idgah—a Muhammadan festival mosque at some distance from the Fort, but commanded by its guns.

Vans Agnew, while his shoulder was being bandaged, dictated an urgent note to the British Resident at Lahore, 200 miles off, and pencilled another to the Commissioner of Bannu, about half that distance, stating what had happened and begging for immediate help. But next day the guns from the Múltán fort, of which Múlráj regained possession, opened on the mosque, where the young officers and their followers had sought shelter. I have spent a day within its riddled walls, and under its shattered dome, and bitterly realized the hoplessness of their defence. When the guns from the fort had done their work, the city rabble rushed in, but paused for a moment at the sight of Vans Agnew sitting quietly on the cot where Anderson lay unable to move, holding his friend's hand and calmly awaiting death. The soldiers and better sort of people stood still, and shrank from taking the lives of defenceless Englishmen. But presently a deformed low caste ran in on the two wounded officers, and hacked off their heads. 'We are not the last of the English,' were Vans Agnew's dying words.

Vans Agnew's letter found Sir Frederick Currie acting as Resident at Lahore for Sir Henry Lawrence who had lately gone to England on sick-furlough. Currie called on the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough, to advance with a British force from the great armed camp at Firozpur, to Múltán. Lord Gough declined, and urged the inexpediency of a general movement of British troops; sixteen marches across 200 miles of burning Wastes, in the height of the hot weather.

Meanwhile Vans Agnew's pencilled appeal for help

reached Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes in his solitary tent at Dehra-Fateh-Khan on the banks of the Indus. The red bag bore the Persian address for the Commissioner, 'To General Cortland in Bannu, or wherever else he may be.' But the young English subaltern, divining the urgency of the case, tore open the letter. Hastily thursting aside his Civil work, he made a rush with his ordinary District escort and some local companies for Múltán, eighty miles distant. He had only 400 men upon whom he could really rely. Múlráj met him on the way with 4000 men and 8 heavy guns from the fortress. 'I am like a terrier barking at a tiger,' wrote the young Lieutenant.

But all through the summer heats of 1848 the terrier kept on barking at the tiger. Having summoned to his aid the loyal levies of the Musulman State of Bhawalpur, Edwardes won two pitched battles in June and July against immense odds; his Muhammadan Pathans breaking with yells of hatred through the Infidel Sikh battalions. The English subaltern and his native allies fairly drove Múlráj and his 4000 back, with loss of eight guns, into Múltán. Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, was now seething with rebellion; the frontier tracts of Hazára were in open revolt. The Afghans entered into an alliance with the Sikhs, and poured through the Khaibar Pass to sweep to the English out of the Land of Five Rivers. Sir Frederick Currie, the Resident at Lahore, felt himself compelled, civilian through he was, to despatch on his own authority, and from his own slender battalions, a relief force to Edwardes at Múltan. Then

at length Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, realized the situation. To the brigade which Sir Frederick Currie determined to send from Lahore, Lord Gough added a siege-train and column from Firozpur. On the 19th of August the forces met before Múltán, and on the 4th of September the heavy guns arrived, amid the cheers of the British troops.

The siege was commenced immediately after the arrival of the heavy guns on the 4th of September, 1848. But even with the united British force from Lahore and Firozpur, together with the subsidiary Sikh troops supplied by the Regency under the Raja Sher Singh, it was found impracticable to attempt the place by storm. A trench had to be run to the south-western face of the fort, and scarcely was this accomplished when the defection of Raja Sher Singh and the Sikh subsidiary force which represented the last remnant of loyalty to the British among the Sikh Regency at Lahore, reversed the situation, and turned the besiegers into the besieged. The Sikh subsidiary force supplied to us by the native Regency threw their lot with Múlráj and the rebels. A council of War, held by the British General, came to the conclusion that the question before it was no longer the capture of Múltán, but the safety of our own camp. On the 15th of September, 1848, the siege was raised, and the British troops were drawn off to a position of safety. Meanwhile the new Governor-General Lord Dalhousie had, from his distant post in Calcutta, watched with profound dissatisfaction the tardiness of the military authorities in the Punjab. During his first months of Office he prudently

abstained from overruling the local knowledge and long experience of his Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough. Before the summer was over he determined to act on his own judgment. 'There is no other course open to us,' he wrote to the Secret Committee, 'but to prepare for a general Punjab War, and ultimately to occupy the country. With swift resolution he ordered an addition of 27,000 men to the army, and hurried up troops to the Punjab from Sind and Bombay. 'If our enemies want war,' said Lord Dalhousie in a speech at a great military ball at Barrackpur on October 5, 1848, a ball which may well compare with the festivities on the eve of Waterloo 'war they shall have, and with a vengeance.'

The Governor-General promptly started for the British frontier on the Sutlej. Sir Richard Temple describes him as he passed through Agra, 'fresh and youthful for his great office, but vigilant and self-sustained.' In November, 1848, Lord Gough moved out his grand army to the task. Twenty thousand men, and nearly 100 guns swept across the Punjab under his command. His tardiness to start was equalled by his rashness in the field. The bloody cavalry blunder at Rámnagar was followed by the doubtful engagement of Sadullápur on December 3rd.

The troops from the south were now, however, advancing upon Múltán. The arrival of the Bombay contingent before that city on the 26th December, 1848, increased the forces there, under General Whish, to 17,000 men with sixty-four heavy guns. The siege which had been interrupted for three and a half months, since

September 15th was resumed on the 27th December. After a most gallant defence, an English shell fortunately exploded the powder magazine of the besieged. On the 2nd January, 1849, the city was captured; and on the 22nd, after 40,000 shot and shell had been poured into Múltán from seventy British cannon, the citadel surrendered unconditionally, and Múlráj delivered himself up to the English camp.

The strong fortress-warehouse of the middle Indus was fallen. But nine days before its fall a calamity had happened to Lord Gough's grand army. Of the battle of Chilianwála it need here only be said, that it was an evening battle fought by a brave old man in a passion, and mourned for by the whole British nation. On the news of that fatal 13th of January reaching England, Lord Gough was recalled, add Sir Charles Napier was appointed Commander-in-Chief.

But meanwhile the siege-force at Múltán, having acomplished its work, moved northwards to join the shattered forces of the Commander-in-Chief. Before Sir Charles Napier could arrive, Lord Gough, on the 20th February, 1849, retrieved his reputation, and ended the war by the crowning victory of Gujrát. The British army with 24,000 men and ninety guns there found themselves face to face with the Sikh forces 40,000 strong with sixty cannon—and an open battle-field between the two arrays. Gujrát was essentially a forenoon battle, with the whole day before the combatants to finish their work. It commenced with a magnificent duel of artillery; the British infantry occupying post after post as they were

abandoned by the enemy; and the British cavalry breaking up the Sikh masses and scattering them by pursuit. Of the sixty Sikh guns engaged, fifty-three were taken.

Lord Dalhousie resolved to make the victory a final one. 'The war,' he declared, 'must be prosecuted now to the entire defeat and dispersion of all who are in arms against us, whether Sikhs or Afghans.' He hurried out General Gilbert with a pursuing force of twelve thousand, horse, foot and artillery, the day after the battle. In the breathless chase which followed across the plains of the Punjab to the frontier mountain-wall, the Sikh military power was destroyed for ever. On the 12th of March, 1849, General Gilbert received the submission of the entire Sikh army at Ráwal Pindi, together with the last forty-one of the 100 Sikh cannon captured by the British during the war. While the Sikh army heaped up their swords and shields and matchlocks in submissive piles and salamed one by one as they passed disarmed along the British line, their Afghan allies were chased relentlessly westwards, and reached the safety of the Khaibar Pass panting, and barely twenty miles in front of the English hunters. The horsemen of Afghánistán, it was said, 'had ridden down through the hills like lions and ran back into them like dogs.'

The question remained what to do with the Punjab. The victory of Sobráon in 1846 gave to Lord Hardinge the right of conquest: the victory of Gujrát in 1849 compelled Lord Dalhousie to assert that right. Lord Hardinge at the end of the first Punjab war in 1846,

tried, as we have seen, an intermediate method of ruling the province by British officers for the benefit of the infant prince. This method had failed. It produced, what many had foreseen it would produce, a period of perpetual intrigue, ending in a general insurrection. Under such a policy, a local spark of treason or revolt might at any moment spread into a general conflagration.

Lord Dalhousie, after a full review of the efforts which had been made to convert the Sikh nation into a friendly power without annexation, decided that no course now remained to the British Government but to annex. He pointed out the folly of any make-believe system of annexing the Punjab in reality, holding it by means of British troops, and administering it by British Officers, and at the same time professing that we were governing it in the name of a native prince. Under such a system, he declared that 'it would be a mockery to pretend that we have preserved the Punjab as an independent State.' 'By maintaining the pageant of a Throne,' he added, 'we should leave just enough of sovereignty to keep alive among the Sikhs the memory of their nationality, and to serve as a nucleus for constant intrigue. We should have all the labour, all the anxiety, all the responsibility, which would attach to the territories if they were actually made our own; while we should not read the corresponding benefits of increase of revenue, and acknowledged possession.'

[FROM SIR WILLIAM HUNTER'S *Lord Dalhousie* Rulers of India Series.]

XXI.

Lord Lawrence's Work in the Punjab.

1849–1857.

The First Sikh War added a little over 15,000 square miles of territory to the British dominions. The Second Sikh War added a Kingdom nearly five times as large.

The country is classic ground, the furthest theatre of the conquests of Alexander the Great. Almost on the same field where, nearly twenty-two centuries ago, he defeated Porus, we fought the indecisive battle of Chilianwála. Our quarrel was with the Sikhs, not with the people of the Punjab. Although the Punjab is the home of the Sikh nation, only a fraction of the population —less than one-twelfth—is Sikh. Judged by population, the Punjab is a Muhammadan province. More than half the population is Muhammadan. But it must be borne in mind that the Sikh is a Hindu, and his religion is only a phase of Hinduism. The Játs furnish most of the converts, and it is no uncommon thing to find in the same family one brother a Hindu and another a Sikh. The Muhammadans too partake largely of Hindu blood, their ancestors having been converted to Islám, forcibly or otherwise.

It was with the Sikh army and the Sikhs that we came into collision in 1848. The movement was a solid and national one on their part. From the Mánjha the people flocked in thousands to the standard raised by Sardár

Chhatar Singh. Many of the leaders were nobles who had signed a treaty with us only eighteen months before. The Commander-in-Chief of the rebel army had been a member of the Council of Regency. But over most of the Punjab the Government which we were to destroy was a military despotism, established by the sword and maintained by the sword, hardly softened by the short British Protectorate. In Ranjit Singh's lifetime, the masterfulness of his genius, the prestige of conquest, the sentiment of young national life, edged off the roughness of the government. But with Ranjít Singh the false glory departed. Indeed it is a marvel how the country could have endured so long the burden of taxation we removed. In addition to land-tax the Sikh Government imposed duties upon no fewer than forty-eight classes of articles of trade and commerce—many, indeed most of them, the produce of domestic industry. For these we substituted four new taxes—on salt, on drugs and spirits, stamps, and ferry-tolls—which brought in the same revenue, while they freed the produce of soil, which had already paid land-tax, cut away a network of customs lines which throttled the commerce of the country, and delivered the people from unlimited extortion. 'Our true policy,' John Lawrence wrote, 'is to give up every restriction that we can possibly do without' and retain the land-tax. By this means we conciliate the masses, and especially the industrial classes. Customs levies are harassing in all countries; in this country they are intolerable' (1849).

Once more John Lawrence had virgin soil to cultivate. 'I should like to fix my own impress on the administration,' he wrote; 'I desire earnestly to shew what a man

bred and educated as a civilian can do in a new country.'. He had a fine staff of Officers—picked men like Montgomery, Macleod, Edward Thornton, Cust, Barnes, and others—the flower of the civil service of the North-Western Provinces. and there was the splendid school trained by his brother Henry. Fearing no responsibility and shirking no labour, there was perhaps a tendency in the young men to act too much on their own initiative, or, as Lord Dalhousie put it, "to consider themselves as Governor-General at least." Edwardes had already drawn Dalhousie's fire upon himself :—'I will not stand it in quieter times for half an hour, and will come down unmistakably upon any one of thom who may "try it on," from Major Edwardes, C. B., down to the latest-enlisted General-Ensign-Plenipotentiary on the establishment.'

Dalhousie proclaimed that over those who should live as obedient and peaceful subjects the British Government would rule with mildness and benevolence. He declared it to be his wish to uphold Native institutions and practices as far as they are consistent with the distribution of justice to all classes. He did not desire to introduce our voluminous laws into this new province. But he was persuaded there were few parts of the country which would not be benefited by the gradual introduction of the British system of administration at the earliest possible period. Three principles characterised the Non-Regulation system adopted by John Lawrence. *First*, the country was mapped out into Districts, so small in respect of area, population, and revenue, that it was possible for the Civil

Officers to gain a complete knowledge of them and to become personally acquainted with all the men of mark and influence. *Secondly*, every civil functionary from the highest to the lowest, in due order of subordination, was vested with judicial, fiscal, and magisterial powers, so as to secure concentration of authority and undivided responsibility. *Thirdly*, the laws and procedure introduced were of the simplest kind, and were based as far as might be on Native customs and institutions.

John Lawrence impressed his own individuality on all his Officers—his vigour, promptitude, and determination to do the work before him with singleness of purpose. Responsibility was undivided, and the delegation of power went down in an unbroken chain of subordination, so that the influence of the central authority was directly felt by every Officer and to the extremities of the province. The Chief Commissioner knew his men. For honest mistakes there was toleration ; for idleness or the incompetence of ignorance there was none. Every man was required to know his work and to do it, and to see that the men under him knew and did it too.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Punjab administration was the simplicity of its laws and its legal machinery. Under the Sikh rule there was no written law. Disputes were for the most part settled by arbitrators in accordance with tribal custom or the usage of trade. 'The unwritten penal code contained but two penalties—fine and mutilation. There was scarcely any crime, from larceny up to murder, for which impunity might not be purchased by the payment of a fine.'

Cattle-lifters were liable to be hamstrung, robbers had their hands cut off, and offences like adultery and seduction were punished by slitting the nose. When I began my service in the Punjab there were many of these mutilated wretches wandering about and subsisting on the gifts of the charitable.

The patriarchal administration of John Lawrence has sometimes been spoken of as government without law. But this was not the case. He held that rules and regulations were as necessary for the good management of a newly-conquered country as in our older provinces. No doubt everything depended on a vigorous executive, and some of the best executive Officers were more conspicuous for zeal and energy and devotion to duty than for legal knowledge and training. But it was no fault of his if there was uncertainty as to the law.

John Lawrence recognised at once the impossibility of dealing with races by a uniform law imported by a foreign government, and the difficulty of deciding 'as to what rule will be observed, what rights upheld, what laws introduced, under what conditions and to what extent each law will be superseded by custom.' He therefore caused a compendious abstract of legal principles to be prepared with special reference to the known peculiarities of the country and people. The abstract was practically accepted as the Civil Code of the Punjab, and so suitable was it found to the circumstances of a new country, that it was afterwards introduced by the Government of India into Oudh and other Non-Regalation provinces as the basis of the judicial administration.

This simple Code has long been superseded by the progress of the country. But it was admirably suited to the time when it was framed. It prevented the province from being bound in the fetters of intricate Muhammadan and Hindu law and overshadowed by the cloud of commentaries. It was a bulwark against the flood of English law which otherwise would inevitably have followed the establishment of British courts. On the one hand it saved social and tribal customs from being needlessly swept away; on the other hand it admitted of their growth and improvement. And not the least of the benefits which it conferred on the Punjab—it compelled the Legislature to provide in its future laws for local and provincial usage.

In 1853, the Court of Directors wrote:—

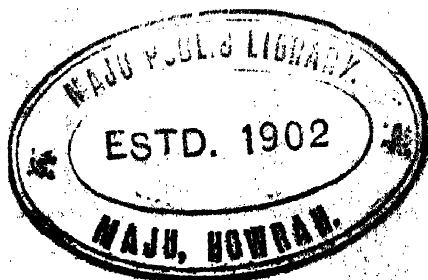
'In the short period which has elapsed since the Punjab became a part of the British dominions, results have been achieved such as could scarcely have been hoped for as the reward of many years of well-directed exertions. The formidable army which it had required so many battles to subdue has been quietly disbanded, and the turbulent soldiery have settled to industrious pursuits. Peace and security reign throughout the country, and the amount of crime is as small as in our best administered territories. Justice has been made accessible, without costly formalities, to the whole population. Industry and commerce have been set free. A great mass of oppressive and burthensome taxation has been abolished. Money rents have been substituted for payments in kind, and a settlement of the land

revenue has been completed in nearly the whole country, at a considerable reduction on the former amount. In the settlement the best lights of recent experience have been turned to the utmost account, and the various errors committed in a more imperfect state of our knowledge of India have been carefully avoided....It is a source of just pride to us that our services, civil and military, should have afforded men capable, in so short a time, of carrying into full effect such a series of enlightened and beneficent measures.'

This catalogue of results in general terms must suffice. What was the secret of such success ? It lay not entirely in the fact that Dalhousie's kingly hand directed and controlled the administration. Nor in the fact that the Chief Commissioner and his Officers had the experience of our older provinces to guide them. Nor yet in the fact that they were picked men, all in the prime of life or the bloom and promise of early manhood. All that was true and counted for much, but it was not everything The secret lay rather in the spirit which moved them ; and that spirit was inspired by John Lawrence and his brother. There was a unique truthfulness, simplicity, and singleness of purpose about them. Each strove to do his duty, neither courting favour nor fearing blame. They loved the people ; they lived among the people and for the people. They were accessible at all times and places and were never above any kind of work. They had a respect for Native ways and institutions, and did not consider a thing bad because it was not English. They put themselves in the people's place and made the

interests and the cares of the people their own, striving to identify them with the government, and create as it were a family feeling. Look at the Hoshiárpur Proclamation—'what is yonr injury I consider mine; what is gain to you I consider my gain; return to me, as children who have committed a fault return to their fathers, and their faults will be forgiven them. This touch of nature did much to break down the barriers of colour and creed and national animosity. Every measure introduced was beneficent in conception and beneficent in its direct effect upon the masses of the people. This was the firm foundation on which the Punjab administration was built and which enabled it to weather the flood and the storm that were so soon and so fiercely to beat upon it.

[FROM SIR CHARLES ARTCHISON'S *Lord Lawrence* Rulers of India Series.]



XXII.

The Causes of the Mutiny

1857.

The thriling incidents and heroic deeds of the Indian Mutiny have already been so graphically recounted by historians and biogrophers that it is difficult to invest the subject with new interest, or to compress the narrative within reasonable limits. An attempt will be made, however, in the present volume to describe in general terms the military operations rendered necessary for the suppression of the revolt; indicating, as briefly as practicable, the causes of the outbreak, and the sequence of events during the anxious months of 1857, when British rule seemed for a moment to tremble in the balance.

To realise the position of affairs in that year, and the magnitude of the danger, it must be borne in mind that India is not a united country containing a homogeneous population, but a congeries of countries inhabited by races who in number (287,000,000) are double the population of the Roman Empire at the time of its greatest extent, who speak a variety of languages, hold many creeds, observe widely different customs, and present every type and degree of civilisation.

We are dealing, too, with immense areas. The single Lieutenant-Governorship of Lower Bengal is as large as France; Madras exceeds Great Britain and Ireland; Bombay equals Germany; the North-Western Provinces

and Oudh cover as much space as Great Britain, Belgium, and Holland; the size of the Punjab is that of Italy; while the Native States put together have an area equal to that of Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, and France combined.

Bearing these facts in mind it will be seen that the suppression of an outbreak of upwards of 100,000 trained Sepoys was no easy task; while to have held the country during the earlier stages of the revolt, with a mere handful of British troops, was an achievement to which Englishmen may ever point with becoming pride.

The bulk of the population of India may for the purposes of this volume be regarded as divisible into Hindus and Muhammadans, inasmuch as these two classes inhabit in greater or less numbers every one of its provinces, and figure almost exclusively in the events of the Mutiny. Speaking generally, the typical Hindu is quiet, industrious, and tolerant in religious matters unless provoked to excitement. As a soldier he is obedient and patient, although wrapped by those caste prejudices which have always given the Bráhmans special control over comrades and subordinates. These qualities were strongly marked in the mutinous Sepoys. The Muhammadan, on his part, is by nature restless, fanatical, and ready for any adventure that may come to hand. In Northern India he is, as a rule, a born soldier, and even in the South he still retains in some measure the martial instincts which inspired his forefathers.

Such, briefly, were the characteristics of the people with whom the British Government and its administrators in the India of thirty-four years ago had to deal. They laboured under the disadvantage of being separated from those people by blood, religion, and character, and had therefore to contend with the almost insuperable difficulty of ignorance as to the undercurrents of public feeling. To obtain trustworthy information from the natives was in fact all but impossible, while the motives of the governing power were as constantly liable to be misunderstood and misrepresented by conquered races.

It cannot be said that the storm burst without warning, Months before the actual outbreak of the mutinous Sepoys, an idea had taken hold of a large number of persons within range of Hindu and Muhammadan influence that a crisis in the world's history was near at hand, that great events were impending, and that the British Government was bent on departing from its ancient principles of non-interference with the customs, traditions, and religions of its Indian subjects. Englishmen were warned by native friends to be on their guard; and written prophecies were spread broadcast throughout the land, foretelling the downfall of British power after the centenary of Plassey. Notwithstanding these indications, however, of ill-feeling and imminent disaster, the attitude of the people of India generally, during the eventful period, was one of neutrality. When once the outbreak became a fact, the only landholder who rebelled among the hundreds of Behar (one of the most disturbed

districts in Bengal) was Koer Sing, a man whom pecuniary embarrassments had rendered notoriously desperate. Bengal, as a whole, remained tranquil. The Sikhs of the Punjab aided us. In the North West Provinces the Hindus of Rohilkhand, forced for a time to submit to the rule of a rebel Muhammadan, welcomed with joy the ultimate restoration of British Government. Moreover, the Native States remained staunch. It is true that certain minor Chiefs joined the rebellion, but the leading Princes of India were steadfast in their allegiance to the British Crown. Thus the principal assistance given to the rebel Sepoys came from a small number of disaffected nobles and deposed officials, who in their turn found support only from the lawless and restless spirits of their neighbourhoods, no longer restrained by a powerful government.

The Mutiny was thus primarily a military rising, aided and abetted to a limited extent by a proportion of the hereditary criminal classes. It was a rising, moreover confined in great measure to the Sepoys of the Bengal Regular Army. For many years prior to the outbreak these men had shown a bad spirit, to be attributed in part to discontent at changes affecting the condition of service, and in part to pampering and lax discipline. The discipline of this Army had in fact been weakened by an encouragement to Sepoys to make frivolous complaints to head-quarters, and to think lightly of the authority of those over them. At the same time there had been a marked deterioration in the character of their regimental officers, while the inefficiency of not a few officers of higher rank in command of divisions

and districts completed the evil. At this particular juncture, moreover, the proportion of British to Native troops in India was dangerously small. The warnings given by Lord Dalhousie had been neglected; and owing to the paucity of European troops the principal arsenals and military posts of India, notably that of Delhi, were garrisoned by disaffected Sepoys.

Under such conditions only a touch was needed to change insubordination into revolt. It was heedlessly applied. The adoption of the Enfield Rifle for use in the Native Army seemed an innocent measure; but a cry of 'greased cartridges' was raised, and the long-suppressed agitation burst into active life. Greased cartridges were no novelty. They had been sent out to India some years before the Mutiny, they had been subsequently manufactured by native hands in local arsenals, and had been, issued without objection to certain Sepoy troops. But this time it was reported, and not without foundation, that the grease was made of hog's lard or cow's fat (a contamination to Hindus and Muhammadans alike), and the clamour spread far and wide. Everywhere it was proclaimed that the Native army was thus to be forced into the Christian faith. The agitators hailed the grievance with delight. The Government made weak explanations. The Mischief was done.

The Mutiny now became a fact, notwithstanding the indignant protestations of officers who sacrificed their lives to the mistaken conviction that their men were faithful. Leaders were soon forthcoming in the persons of Bahádur Sháh (the titular King of Delhi) and others

who had long watched for an opportunity; and many parts of India were quickly plunged into a chaos of confusion and bloodshed. Little need be said in regard to the leaders. There were only three of any note. The titular King of Delhi resided with his family in the old palace of the Mughals at Delhi, whence his sons had travelled freely for many years through the country, stirring up hopes of a revived Muhammadan Empire. The Rání of Jhánsí, Ganga Baí, had become a bitter enemy of the English on account of the annexation of the principality after the death of her husband without an heir. The Náná Sáhib, Dundhu Panth, an adopted son of a deposed Maráthá Peshwa although permitted to inherit his adoptive father's personal property, including the estate of Bithur near Cawnpur, had been refused a lapsed pension, and he now became one of the most infamous and active leaders of the rebellion. With the Náná Sáhib was associated the only military commander of any distinction on the rebel side. Tántia Topi had been brought up in the household of the deposed Peshwá, and regarded the Náná, the Peshwá's adopted son, as a master whose cause he was bound to champion. He had all the qualities of a general except daring; for althouth he led his troops well more than once, he was chiefly remarkable for his retreat after the capture of Gwalior, in June 1858, when for the space of nine months he eluded the vigilance of the forces sent to capture him, covering as much as 3,000 miles in his flight.

It may be of interest to the general reader to call to mind certain views expressed by one of the most

eminent contemporary authorities on the events of this period.

'The annexation of Oudh,' said Lord Lawrence, speaking at Glasgow in 1860, 'had nothing to do with the Mutiny in the first place, though that measure certainly did add to the number of our enemies after the Mutiny commenced. The old Government of Oudh was extremely obnoxious to the mass of our native soldiers of the regular army, who came from Oudh and the adjacent province of Behar, and with whom the Mutiny originated. These men were sons and kinsmen of the Hindu yeomen of the country, all of whom benefited more or less by annexation; while Oudh was ruled by a Muhammadan family which had never identified itself with the people, and whose Government was extremely oppressive to all classes except its immediate creatures and followers. But when the introduction of the greased cartridges had excited the Native Army to revolt, when the mutineers saw nothing before them short of escape on the one hand or destruction on the other, they, and all who sympathised with them, were driven to the most desperate measures. All who could be influenced by love or fear rallied round them. All who had little or nothing to lose joined their ranks. All that dangerous class of religious fanatics and devotees who abound in India, all the political intriguers, who in peaceful times can do no mischief, swelled the numbers of the enemy, and gave spirit and direction to their measures. India is full of races of men, who from time immemorial, have lived by service or by plunder, and who are ready to

join in any disturbance which may promise them employment. Oudh was full of disbanded soldiers who had not had time to settle down. Our gaols furnished thousands of desperate men let loose on society. The cry throughout the country as cantonment after cantonment became the scene of triumphant mutiny was, "The English rule is at an end. Let us plunder and enjoy ourselves." The industrious classes throughout India were on our side, but for a long time feared to act. On the one side they saw the few English in the country shot down or flying for their lives or at the best standing on the defensive, sorely pressed; on the other side they saw summary punishment, in the shape of the plunder and destruction of their houses, dealt out to those who aided us. But when we evinced signs of vigour, when we began to assume the offensive and vindicate our authority, many of these people came forward an didentified themselves with our cause.'

No clearer outline could be given of the causes and effects of the Mutiny. The shock was a terrible one, but it left British power in India more firmly established than ever. Foes and friends rose up where their appearance was least expected. And one lesson will ever be indelibly engraved on the pages of its history, namely, that while the Native Princes of India whom we mistrusted brought their armies and influence to our aid the Sepoy troops on whom we relied turned against us. From the day when this experience was taken to heart dates the consolidation of our Indian Empire as it now exists.

[From General SIR OWEN TUDOR BURNE's *Clyde and Strathnairn*; Rulers of India Series.]

XXIII.

The Outbreak in the North.

1857.

When Lord Dalhousie gave up his post in the early part of 1856, he publicly warned the English in India that 'cruel violence might be suddenly committed by men who up to the last moment nad been regarded as harmless, even by those who knew them best.' Lord Canning, at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors, when he was leaving for Calcutta as the new Governor-General, also said: 'I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise no larger than a man's hand, but which growing larger may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin.' Warnings to Government had not been wanting, moreover, from experienced observers who had watched for sometime the growth of discontent in the Bengal Sepoy Army. At length the storm burst. And if the fearful disasters, the touching incidents, and the memorable exploits which belong to the first few months of the outbreak are too briefly summed up in this chapter, it is because the object of the volume admits only of such passing reference to them as may carry on the reader intelligently to the military operations connected with the final suppression of the revolt by Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Hugh Rose.

Preceded in various parts of India, as already seen, by indications of a mutinous spirit in the Native Army, a spirit of disaffection that grew stronger as it was met with increasing indecision, the first important outbreak of the Sepoys took place on May 10th, 1857, at Meerut. The Native troops at the place rose in open rebellion; and although there were only about 2700 Sepoys with 1700 Europeans to control them; the mutineers, without check or hindrance, released a number of desperate prisoners from the Jail, set fire to the cantonments, and hurried away unmolested to Delhi. There, amid fearful scenes of murder and carnage, the titular King of Delhi was set up as Sovereign Lord of Hindustán. Within a few short hours not a vestige remained in the city of British authority except the Arsenal; and this building, after being defended for a time by a small and devoted band of Englishmen who watched in vain for succour from Meerut, had at length to be blown up to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. The first great step in the Mutiny was thus accomplished in a few hours. 'Onwards to Delhi' was now the cry, and the old Mughal capital became the political centre of the rebellion. On our part everything depended on energy and resolution. 'Where have we failed,' wrote John Lawrence to the Commander-in-Chief, 'when we have acted vigorously? Where have we succeeded when guided by timid counsels? Clive with his 1200 men fought at Plassey in opposition to the advice of his leading officers, beat 40,000 men and conquered Bengal. Monson retreated from the Chambal, and before he gained Agrá, his army was disorganised and partially annihilated. A picked

force from Meerut and Ambála, acting with vigour and operating from both sides of the Jumna, would in all probability have recovered the possession of the city by a *coup de main*. But it was not so to be. A few days of inactivity allowed the flame to blaze up beyond possibility of immediate extinction. The unchallenged occupation of the Mughal capital by rebel sepoys and *badmashes* was followed by risings and massacres in almost every station within range of the example; and from Firozpur, Bareilly, Moradábád, Shájahánpur, Cawnpur, and numerous other places came harrowing tales of massacre, suffering, and heroism.

When this terrible news reached army headquarters, it was received with a perhaps natural incredulity. Nevertheless, a force was hastily assembled at Ambála; and with the troops thus mobilised, General Anson, then Commander-in-Chief, made preparations to march against the renowned city of the Mughal. The little force had hardly started, however, when its leader died of cholera (May 27th). It was not until the 1st of June that General Barnard, who had succeeded temporarily to the chief command, advanced in earnest against the now jubilant rebels. Meanwhile, a small body of troops under Brigadier Archdale Wilson marched out from Meerut, after a disastrous delay; and combined force, amounting to about 3000 Europeans and one battalion of Gúrkhas, fought its way onwards till it reached the outskirts of the city on the 8th of June, 1857.

We may now refer to the three great points—Delhi, Cawnpur, and Lucknow, round which the Mutiny was, so

to speak, centred during the earlier period of the revolt; namely from May 1857, till the arrival in India of Sir Colin Campbell in August of that year.

The modern city of Delhi was founded by the Emperor Sháh Jehán in 1631. Situated on the right bank of a branch of the Jumna river it was, as it still is surrounded by a high wall some seven miles in extent, strengthened by bastions and by a capacious dry ditch. The British force held the elevated ground known as the Ridge, which extends two miles along the northern and western faces of the city—a position taken up some centuries before by Timúr Sháh and his Tartar hordes when advancing to attack old Delhi. At intervals along the Ridge stood the Flagstaff, Tower, the Observatory, a large mansion called Hindu Ráo's house, and other defensible buildings. The space between the city and the Ridge was thickly planted, for the most part with trees and shrubs; in the midst of which might be seen numerous mosques and large houses, and the ruins of older buildings. It soon became evident that the position held by the British force on the Ridge was a false one; and the question arose whether the city might not be taken by a *coup de main,* seeing that it was impossible either to invest it or to attempt a regular siege with any chance of success. A plan of assault, to be carried out on the 12th of June, was drawn up by a young Engineer officer and sanctioned. Had this assault been delivered the city would in all likelihood have been taken and held. For there were not more than about 7000 Sepoys within the walls, while the available British troops

numbered 2000; and since the numerical discrepancy between the contending forces was no less in proportion when the stronghold was finally captured, we may not unfairly assume that the columns detailed for the contemplated operations of the 12th of June might have succeeded as well as those which made the actual assault three months later. But owing to a series of accidents, the plan fell through—a miscarriage the more to be regretted because the early recapture of the city would in all human probability have put a stop to further outbreaks.

As matters stood, however, the gallant little force before Delhi could barely hold its own. It was an army of observation perpetually harassed by an active enemy. As time went on, therefore, the question of raising the siege in favour of a movement towards Agra was more than once seriously discussed, but was fortunately abandoned. On July 5th, 1857, General Barnard, died worn out with fatigue and anxiety. He was succeeded in command by General Archdale Wilson, an officer who, possessing no special force of character, did little more than secure the safe defence of the position until the arrival of Brigadier Nicholson from the Punjab, August 14th, 1857, with a moveable column of 2500 men, European and Sikhs. And here we may leave Delhi for the moment, deferring till later any further details of the siege.

The city of Cawnpur, situated on the south bank of the river Ganges, forty-two miles south-west of Lucknow and 270 miles from Delhi, lies about a mile from the

river in a large sandy plain. On the strip of land between the river and the town, a space broken by ravines, stretched the Civil station and cantonments. A more difficult position to hold in an extremity cannot well be conceived, occupied as it was by four disaffected Sepoy regiments with but sixty European artillerymen to overawe them. There was, moreover, an incompetent commander. Realising after the disasters at Meerut and Delhi that his native garrison was not to be trusted, Sir Hugh Wheeler threw up a make-shift entrenchment close to the Sepoy lines. Commanded on all sides, it was totally unfitted to stand a siege. But a worse mistake was to follow. Alarmed as time went on at his growing difficulties, Sir Hugh Wheeler at length asked the notorious Náná Sáhib, who lived a few miles off at Bithúr, to assist him with troops to guard the Treasury. For some months previously this arch-traitor's emissaries had been spreading discontent throughout India, but he himself had taken care to remain on good terms with his European neighbours. He now saw his opportunity. Cawnpur, delivered into his hand by the misplaced confidence of its defenders was virtually in his keeping. Of European succour there was no immediate hope. The place was doomed. The crash came three days before General Barnard's force reached Delhi. With the exception of a few devoted natives who remained faithful to their salt, the whole Sepoy force on the 5th of June rose in revolt, opened the doors of the jail, robbed the treasury, and made themselves masters of the magazine. The Náná cast aside all further pretence of friendship and, joined by the mutinous troops, laid siege to the entrench-

ment already mentioned, which with culpable military ignorance had been thrown up in one of the worst positions that could have been chosen.

The besieging army numbered some 3000 men. The besieged could only muster about 400 English soldiers, more than 70 of which number were invalids. For twenty one days the little garrison suffered untold horrors from starvation, heat, and the onslaughts of the rebels; until the General in command listened to overtures for surrender, and the garrison marched out on the 27th of June, to the number of about 450 souls, provided with a promise of safeguard from the Náná, who would allow them, as they thought, to embark in country boats for Allahábád. Tántia Topi, who afterwards became notorious in Central India, superintended the embarkation. No sooner, however, were the Europeans placed in the boats, in apparent safety, than a battery of guns concealed on the river banks opened fire, while at the same time a deadly fusillade of musketry was poured on the luckless refugees. The Náná at length ordered the massacre to cease. He celebrated what he called his glorious victory by proclaiming himself Peshwá Sovereign, and by rewarding his troops for their 'splendid achievements,' while the wretched survivors of his treachery, numbering about 5 men and 206 women and children, were taken back to Cawnpur and confined in a small building for further vengeance and insult.

On the 15th July came the last act of this tragedy. The Náná having suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Brigadier Havelock's force within a day's march of

Cawnpur, as will presently be recorded, put the whole of his prisoners to death. The men were brought out and killed in his presence, while the women and children were hacked to pieces by Muhammadan butchers and others in their prison. Their bodies were thrown into what is now known as the 'Cawnpur Well.'

Lucknow, at the time of the Mutiny, was in population, in extent, and in the number and importance of its principal buildings, one of the foremost cities of India. Situated on the river Gúmti, its beautiful palaces, mosques and public buildings, many of which soon became famous, rose in stately array from a maze of long narrow streets. The Residency stood on a hill gently sloping towards the river, and was an imposing edifice of three stories. Near it were the iron and stone bridges over the river. The southern and eastern quarters of the city were bounded by a canal which crossed the road leading to Cawnpur, and finally reached the Gúmti.

At the outbreak of the Mutiny the Sepoy regiments were stationed in various localities within the city; while the 32nd Foot, the only European regiment on the spot, was quartered in a barrack about a mile or so from the Residency. As was the case elsewhere, so it happened at Lucknow. While the population and native garrison were seething with sedition, the British authorities were hampered by ignorance of popular feeling, by the want of European troops, and by divided counsels. So, by the end of May, 1857, the rebellion in Oudh became an accomplished fact, although matters went on with comparative smoothness in Lucknow itself. At length,

after a serious disaster at Chinhat, the British garrison was forced to withdraw to the Residency and its adjacent buildings; and on the 1st of July commenced the famous investment of this position by the rebel forces.

The position was ill adapted for defence; for the lofty windows of the Residency itself not only allowed free access to the enemy's missiles, but its roof was wholly exposed. On the opposite side of the street, leading from the Bailey Guard Gate, was the house of the Residency Surgeon, Dr. (now Sir Joseph) Fayrer. It was a large but not lofty building with a flat roof which, protected by sand bags, afforded a good cover for our riflemen, and with a *tyekhana*, or underground story that afforded good shelter for the women and children. But as a whole, the defences of the Residency were more formidable in name than in reality, and were greatly weakened by the proximity of high buildings from which the rebels without danger to themselves poured an unceasing fire.

The siege had an ominous commencement. On July 4th the much-beloved Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident, died of a wound received two days before from an enemy's shell that had fallen into his room. Brigadier Inglis succeeded him in command; and for three months the heroic garrison of about 1700 souls held their weak position, amid inconceivable hardships and dangers, against thousands of the rebels who were constantly reinforced by fresh levies. It was well said in a general order by Lord Canning that there could not be found in the annals of war an achievement more heroic

than this defence, which had exhibited in the highest degree a noble and sustained courage, which against enormous odds and fearful disadvantages, against hope deferred and through unceasing toil and wear of body . . . , still held on day after day and triumphed.

[From General SIR OWEN TUDOR BURNE'S *Clyde and Strathnairn*. Rulers of India Series.]

XXIV.

THE NATIVE STATES OF WESTERN INDIA.

PERHAPS the most characteristic feature of the eighteen groups of the Bombay Native States is the extraordinary number of petty principalities into which they are sub-divided. The Káthiáwár groups alone contain no fewer than 187 separate States. The recognition of these multitudinous jurisdictions is due in part to the circumstance that the early Bombay administrators regarded the *de facto* exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction by a landholder in Feudatory territory as carrying with it a *quasi*-sovereign status. In most of the States the British Agent exercises not only a political but a judicial control. A large amount of judicial work accordingly devolves on the Governor-in-Council, who in criminal cases acts as a Court of Reference and Appeal, and in civil matters as a Court of Appeal, from decisions in the Native States.

But greatly as the Bombay Native States differ in respect to their size, to the condition of their people, and to the degree of political control exercised by the

British Government, they present still more striking diversities in regard to the characters of their ruling chiefs. We are apt to speak and to think of the Native Chiefs of India as if they were a homogeneous class, differentiated indeed by religion into Muhammadans and Hindus, but governing on the same old-world patterns, and regulated as to their motives and conduct by a common love of *laissex faire.* The comparative isolation of the Indian Princes tends to develop in each of them a strong individuality, whether for good or evil.

Perhaps in no position has a civilian a better opportunity for the exercise of his powers, than in a Native State which has been suffering from misrule. Assisted by good native officials, and not hampered by too minute instructions from his own Government, he can bring order out of chaos in an incredibly short time. Indeed, the moment that British rule is established in such a State, the people take for granted that extortion will cease and justice will prevail. But the reforms, although easily introduced, do not always take deep root under such a system of temporary administration.

The most important of the Bombay States, Baroda, is in direct relationship with the Supreme Government. His Highness the Gáekwár's residence in England, has taught him a contempt for a merely superficial appearance of good government, or for administrative shams of any sort. His aim is not to have a show capital with fine palaces, hospitals, colleges, a public library, and public gardens (although his large revenues and careful finance permit him also to enjoy these luxuries), but to

have his districts well administered and to spread education among his people.

To assist him in his task the Gáekwár recruits from the best of the Native officials in the Bombay Presidency. Every year the number of rural schools in his territories is increased. Gáekwár won Lord Reay's sincere admiration by the great pains he took to master both sides of each question as it arose. His Highness is a discreet and cautious ruler who, while appreciating the high results attained by British administrative methods, thoroughly realises the necessity of carrying his subjects with him, and suiting the pace of progress so as not to break away from what is good in Native tradition, or to sacrifice the confidence and affection of his people. The Gáekwár has strong sympathies with his own race the Máráthás, and is in an especial manner bent on promoting their interests and raising their status. He never forgets that, although the Premier Hindu Prince of India, he is first of all and above all the foremost man of the ancient Máráthá race. He clearly sees that the progress of that race] must now be made on industrial lines. He devotes both time and money to the spread of education in all parts of his territories, to the construction of railways, the introduction of a plentiful supply of good water to his capital, and to numerous public works.

Perhaps the most important group of Native States under the Political Department of the Bombay Government are the 187 Chiefdoms of Kathiáwár. Of these 13 pay no tribute, 105 pay tribute to the British Govern-

ment, 79 to the Gáekwár of Baroda; while 134 also pay a tribute to the Nawáb of Junagarh. They exhibit a perplexing congeries of jurisdictions, with a mixed tributary responsibility to the British Government and to the two Native Princes just named, the result of a long history of disquiet and warfare brought to a close by numerous treaties. The delicate and complicated control required for the management of so large a group of chiefs, some of them ancient and powerful, others of them poor, and all of them proud, must ever be a subject of personal and peculiar interest to a Governor of Bombay.

Even careful writers are apt to speak and think of the Káthiáwár group of States as an entity. As a matter of fact their 187 Chiefs present as widely different types as are to be found among the nobles of Europe, from the semi-Tartar Russian prince to the haughty and languid Spanish grandee. If we are to understand the problems involved in our political control over Káthiáwár, we must first realise the striking diversity in the character and the aims of its Rulers. Let me endeavour, therefore, to place a few of their strongly marked personalities before the eyes of the reader.

In Bhaunagar for example, the Chief, although he has never visited England, forms his system of administration upon British models. Educated at the College for Chiefs at Rájkot under careful European supervision, he determined to re-cast the framework of his government upon the basis of a Council, each member of which should have a special Department. Among these, his most

trusted adviser is the English head of his Public Works Department. His Judicial Councillor is an experienced Parsi, formerly a Presidency Magistrate in Bombay. His Revenue Councillor is a Bráhman. By means of this Council, the Mahárájá of Bhaunagar has quietly but effectively freed the State from the monopoly of offices formerly exercised by the too powerful caste of Nágar Bráhmans. He spends the revenue of his State wisely and liberally on State purposes, promotes railways, and is thoroughly loyal to the British power. The Grand Cross of the Star of India was conferred on His Highness, in recognition of his merits as the Ruler of a pattern State.

In the Káthiáwár principality of Gondal, on the other hand, the Chief has been much in England, and is again, studying medicine in the University of Edinburgh. Extremely reserved, but hospitable in a princely manner to visitors, well aware of his own treaty rights, and determined to allow no infringement either on his political status or his personal dignity, his single grievance against the ruling power was the permission accorded during his minority to his Muhammadan subjects at Dhoráji to slaughter kine for food. He is an example of the new type of Chief developed by frequent visits to England. Such a Chief sees for himself how Englishmen treat each other, and he returns to India, disposed neither to fear nor to flatter the English political officers with whom he has to deal. He accordingly bears himself with a more manly personal attitude towards the Government than the older school of Chiefs; but at the same time

with a more complete conception of the strength of the Paramount Power, and of the unity of interest which has grown up between that Power and the Native Princes. His Highness is perhaps the only Rájput Chief in India whose princess accompanies him to England, and drives out with her husband and visits English ladies in Bombay.

The Thákur of Gondal has a Parsi as his Prime Minister, and his State is admirably managed. The State took an active part in the construction of the Gondal-Bhaungar Railway, and the Chief carried out his share of the important line which connects the town of Dhoráji with the harbour of Porbondar. Having studied medicine in the University of Edinburgh, he maintains six hospitals which, in the year 1890-91, gave relief to 59,914 patients, and performed 1,466 operations. His system of State medical relief includes a travelling hospital, and it has succeeded to a remarkable degree in winning the confidence of his female subjects; 28,784, or over 57 per cent of the whole patients, being women and children. A vaccination department, looks after the rising generation, while an aslyum and orphanage provide for 792 of the aged and infirm, and for those who are left without natural protectors to the care of the State.

Seventy-five schools, aided and inspected by the State, give instruction to 4,619 pupils, with all the latest improvements for female education, and night schools for the poorer cultivating classes whose sons cannot be spared from the fields during the day. The administration of justice is conducted by seven courts, the Chief presiding

in person in the Supreme Court of Appeal, and his place being taken by the Prime Minister during the absence of His Highness in England. Examinations are held of the police officers in the criminal law and and rules of evidence current in the Gondal territory, and a conference with the Police Superintendents of the neighbouring States was held to concert measures for the suppression of crime on their frontiers. An Administration Report of his State is regularly published, drawn up on the system of chapters prescribed for the similar reports in the British Provinces, and dealing quite frankly with the successes and failures of the administrative year. The result of good government in a Native State is illustrated in a very practical form by the census of Gondal taken during the year 1891. While the increase of population from 1881 to 1891 throughout the British Provinces, after adjustments for changes of area is returned at 11 per cent, the people in the State of Gondal increased by nearly 18 per cent. The progress of municipal life, a new element of hopefulness in India, has been still more rapid. Gondal has five municipal towns, each with a local government of its own. The average increase of population in these five municipalities was 19½ per cent during the decade from 1881 to 1891; and in two important towns it reached the extraordinary rates of 23¼ and 25 per cent.

The Chief of Morvi is a ruler of a different type. He has all the traditional features of the noble Rájput, is fond of every manly exercise, and a first rate rider. Following the most vigorous examples of the old Native

School, he allows no body of ministers to grow up between his own personality and the people, but governs for himself with a keen eye to the revenue, and a disdain of anything like philanthropic ostentation, although he has model shools to show when needful. In his dealings with strangers he displays the old-world courtesy of Rájput prince, and, like other princes of that type, he has a good many troubles with his numerous brotherhood and blood relations. This type he has firmly adhered to notwithsanding a residence in England and in our North American Dominon. In his intercourse with British officers he demeans himself as a comrade and fellow-sportsman—as one who thoroughly understands and likes their ways, and who has driven his dog-cart down Piccadilly and purchased a tract of land in Canada. He thoroughly appreciates the necessity of a liberal expenditure on railways, if a Native State is to hold its own in these days, and has not only brought his own territories into the railway system, but has invested money in lines outside them. One of his most intimate friends is the English gentleman at the head of his Public Works Department. He has sent his son to be educated in England.

The Chief of Jasdán was a ruler of a still older school. A strict upholder of ancient etiquette, and a recognised referee on Káthiáwár local customs, and as to what could and could not be done by the numerous classes of Chiefs, he enjoyed in a marked manner the respect alike of his brother-rulers and of the Paramount Power. His manners were perfect, extremely courteous, dignified and full of

self-respect. A fine rider, and a good chess-player, very sagacious in the management of a State upon conservative lines, he frankly declared himself a man of the old school. Nevertheless, he recgnised the new condition of things which was growing up around him, and sent his son to Cambridge to fit him for the altered future of the Indian feudatory order.

The Thákur of Lakhtar clung even more closely to ancient traditions. He urged the necessity of a more religious (or orthodox Hindu) teaching at the college for young chiefs at Rájkot, and was wont to vigorously press this view, together with a grievance which he had about the Salt Revenue, in his personal conversations with the Governor of Bombay.

On the other hand the Ráo of Cutch, a thoroughly well-educated man, courteous and friendly in his intercourse with the Bombay Government, proved little accessible to arguments for the abolition of Customs duties, and on other subjects in regard to which His Highness thought that his State held a peculiar position. His Highness has the advantage of having a long coast-line for his main frontier, and he believed it to be his best policy to maintain his isolated position as a maritime Chief rather than to open up his country by railways. In spite of these differences the Ráo of Cutch came freguently to see the Governor, and went to England for the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. His Highness's domestic life is exemplary. He is a keen sportsman, very fond of his brother, but not seeking intimate relations with any beyond his own family circle.

Having thus summarised the widely different types presented by the Káthiáwár group of Chiefs, it may be well to take a single State, and to exhibit at length the system which the Bombay Government has pursued in relation to it during the present generation. As a single example is all that space allows me to select by way of illustration, I shall take the first-class Káthiáwár State of Bhaunagar, in regard to which I have some personal knowledge, and I have also to thank its former joint administrator, Mr. Percival, for much valuable information. I select Bhaunagar as an illustration of the general principles of policy, steadily and continuously applied by the Bombay Government to the Native States under its care.

On the death of the late Thákur of Bhaunagar, 1870, there was no member of the family with s ufficient ability and authority to be entrusted with the control of the state. The present Thákur (since advanced to the rank of Mahárájá) was then 12 years old. Bhaunagar State enjoyed the reputation of being well governed by certain families of Nágar Bráhmans, who exercised the chief authority, and at the head of whom was Gaurishankar Udeshankar, the Diwán or Prime Minister, a man of great talent. The Governor of Bombay at the time, Sir Philip Wodehouse, determined to place the authority exercised by the late Thákur, as the chief of a first-class State, in the hands jointly of a member of the Bombay Civil Service, Mr. Percival, and the Bráhman Prime Minister, Gaurishankar. The object was to obtain a continuity of Native rule, improved by English influence, without introducing any new system which the young

Chief might be unable or unwilling to maintain when he came to power.

The officials of the Bhaunagar State had been brought into unusually close contact with authorities of the adjoining British district of Ahmadábád, owing partly to the position of the state on the coast near to several British ports, and also because a large portion of the State had been for half a century placed under the British Courts of Law, in consequence of an act of cruelty done by one of the previous Thákurs. Gaurishankar's conduct of the delicate relation with the Bombay Government, which finally resulted in the withdrawal of the British Courts, showed the highest ability and tact. He was also successful in the management of the turbulent Káthi land-owners, who had until recent times constantly disturbed the peace of Káthiáwár by open resistance to the Chiefs, or by going into outlawry (báhirwaita) and committing atrocities upon innocent villagers, in order to force the States to comply with their demands. These Káthis are numerous and powerful in Bhaunagar, but Gaurishankar arranged terms with most of them, and kept the rest from serious outbreaks such as from time to time occurred in other parts of the province. The high price of cotton during the American Civil War largely increased the revenue of State, and considerable balance had been accumulated in the treasury. In 1870, thereford, the join administration of Mr. Percival and Gaurishaukar commenced under favourable circumstances.

'The chief offices in Bhaunagar were held by families of Nágar Bráhmans, all more or less related to each other

and to the Prime Minister Gaurishankar. It was by means of this strong organisation that he and his predecessors had been enabled to control the State. The moderation of the ruling Bráhmans, in a position of great temptation, had been praiseworthy, and they were not slow to accept new ideas.

The successful introduction of the land-settlement into Bhaunagar is an instance of the influence for good exerted by the Bombay Government upon the Native States politically connected with it. Not only did it render the land-revenue less onerous to the cultivators, without diminishing the income of the State, but it facilitated economic reforms in other departments. The joint administrators reduced the special tax on sugar-cane fields; they suspended the tax on fruit-trees until the trees were bearing well, with the result that in 1876 no fewer than 1660 mango and 430 cocoanut trees were planted by ráyats on waste land; they replaced the tax on the sale of houses by a moderate stamp duty on registered sales; and they kept the customs-duties so low that traders were encouraged to use the port, and soon raised it to an unprecedented condition of commercial prosperity. Where the country was bare of trees from its open and exposed position, the joint administrators started extensive protected plantations, one of which at Mhowa contained nearly 100,000 cocoanut trees. They also opened dispensaries in all the chief towns and founded numerous shools.

Bhaunagar was the first State in Káthiáwár to welcome inspection by the Bombay Department of Education,

and to maintain girls' schools, the chief officials and the Thákur himself setting an example by sending their daughters to the school in the capital. Care was taken to secure the impartial administration of justice in both civil and criminal cases. A judge was appointed in each district, with a Court of Appeal of three judges at Bhaunagar, from which lay a final appeal to the Thákur. The State has a short code of law of its own; but practically the Indian Civil and Criminal Codes are in force, and supersede the old local regulations. The chief difficulty in a small Native State is to secure the independence of the judge. The revenue officer in each district is an autocrat, and expects to be consulted in every case of any importance. No change of system can alter this, but higher salaries, improved courts, and the selection of suitable men have tended to strengthen the judges and give the people more confidence in them.

The young Thákur, when he took the reins of government into his own hands, found his State in good order. He has received a greater reward than even his Grand Cross of the Star of India, or the friendship of successive Governors of Bombay, in the love of his people. 'It was interesting to observe,' writes Mr. Percival to me, 'the devoted loyalty of the people to the young Thákur. The old minister who had controlled the state for many years, passed almost unnoticed, whilst crowds followed the boy about wherever he went. When a native state is absorbed in British territory, we destroy a source of happiness to the common people, for which we can provide no equivalent. The Mahárájá of Bhaunagar,

now a man in middle life, continued to successfully govern his State during the five years under review. By establishing a Council of Heads of departments responsible to his Highness only, he started a valuable administrative and financial check on abuses and extravagance.

[From SIR WILLIAM HUNTER'S *Bombay. 1885-1890.*]

XXV.

THE INDIAN FORESTS.

INDIA was in ancient days a land of forests. The Mahábhárata contains direct and indirect evidence that forests covered the country, including many tracts now bare of woodland, such as the banks of the lower Jumna. The Ramáyana, which treats of a time when an Aryan Empire had been established in Oudh, speaks of forests dark as a cloud in the wilderness of Táraká. In the north of the Punjab, the Salt Range in the Pabbi was clothed with forest sufficiently dense to conceal the movements of the army of Alexander the Great. In the forests dwelt wild primitive races, who lived by hunting and on the produce of the woods. The Aryan settlers, as they slowly made their advance and introduced agriculture and civilisation, destroyed the forests before them; and the burning of the Khandava forest, probably situated between the Ganges and the Jumna, is a very early example of such a clearing on a great scale. The necessity of the nomadic tribes for wide stretches of grazing ground was perhaps even more destructive than

the advance of an agricultural population, and hills and plains covered with forest were fired to make new pastures for their flocks and herds.

The long-continued destruction of the forests is believed to have diminished the rainfall, and certainly to have rendered it less effective, in many parts of India. The numerous deserted villages which attest the former existence of a dense population, sites in now barren deserts, are pointed to as evidence of the change—a change also supported by the analogy of other countries, which have been deforested within historical times. The once well-wooded Dalmatia is in modern times a stony desert. Persia, formerly one of the granaries of the East, is barren and desolate over a large extent of the country. North Africa, the richest corn-producing colony of the Roman Empire and the chief granary of ancient Rome, is subject to the severest droughts. Parts of Spain, Italy, Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor are also cited as examples of agricultural deterioration due to the denudation of the forests. It is through their influence in absorbing, storing, and re-evaporating moisture, and so husbanding the rainfall, that forests affect the climate and productiveness of countries. Where rain falls upon a well-wooded forest area it percolates slowly into the soil, whence a large quantity is gradually pumped up again through the roots of the trees, exhaled by their leaves, and again assists in forming rainclouds. On the other hand, where it falls upon barren hills or open plains, it either rushes away in torrents or sinks into the sand with diminished facilities for re-evaporation. As long as the

forests, the streams, and rivers, carry fertile soil, the plains are benefited by the inundations caused by the rapid rush of water from mountains and high grounds. But when the good surface-soil has been scoured way, the cultivated fields are covered by the floods with unproductive sand and stones, and are ruined instead of benefited. The influence which forests exercise in controlling and regulating the water-supply is, however, now generally recognised. Specialists have analysed the causes of that influence, and have laid the bases for the study and practice of scientific forestry.

Scientific forestry is a creation of the present century, and first developed in France and Germany. Great results were hoped from it; the world were to be made to rejoice. Its natural limitations were forgotten. The fact that forests would as a rule only grow again where forests once had flourished, was not realised, and attempts were made to plant trees in unsuitable localities; attempts which, as in the case of the steppes of Russia, were foredoomed to failure. India was not behind hand in welcoming the new science. It was known that extensive areas had been denuded of their forests within historical times, and it was expected that careful conservation would do much to insure the country against periodical famines by regulating the rainfall. Efforts were made in different provinces, and in 1864 Mr., now Sir Diretrich Brandis, was appointed Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India, and a Forest Department was regularly organised. In 1865 the first Indian Forest Act was passed, and in 1878 the second. These

measures strengthened the idea that it was the duty of Government to preserve forests and to subject them to a separate jurisdiction. The working of a Forest Department demanded a special Forest service. It was at first recruited from members of the other services, possessing a special aptitude for forest work. But the need of a thorough scientific and professional training soon made itself felt. Young Englishmen educated at the Forest School at Nancy were then sent to India and in 1884 a regular Forest School was established at Cooper's Hill.

[From SIR WILLIAM HUNTER'S *Bombay, 1885-1890* Frowde].

XXVI.

LORD MAYO'S WORK AND DEATH.

1869–1872.

LORD MAYO took his oaths as Viceroy on the 12th January, 1869. The same evening he set to work with characteristic promptitude to learn from his predecessor what personal duties were expected of him, and by what methods he could discharge them most effectively, and with the strictest economy of time.

The mechanism of the Supreme Government of India consists of a cabinet with the Governor-General as absolute President. The weakness of that Government in the last century, down to the time of Lord Cornwallis, arose from the fact that the Governor-General was not

absolute within his Cabinet, but merely *primus inter pares*, with a single vote which counted no more than the vote of any other member, except in the case of an equal division, when he had the casting-vote. This attempt at government by a majority was the secret of much of the misrule which has left so deep a stain on the East India Company's first years of administration in Bengal. Sir Philip Francis and his brother Councillors appointed by the Regulating Act of 1773, brought the system to a dead-lock. The hard task then laid upon Warren Hastings was not only government by a majority, but government in the teeth of a hostile majority. It is to the credit of Lord Cornwallis that before accepting the office of Governor-General in 1786, he insisted that the Governor-General should really have power to rule.

The new plan subsisted with little change till 1858, the last year of the East India Company. While the Governor-General retained the power of over-ruling his Council, as a matter of fact he wisely refrained, except in grave crises or emergencies, from exercising his supreme authority. Every order ran in the name of the President and the collective Cabinet, technically the Governor-General in Council. And under the Company every case actually passed through the hands of each Member of Council, circulating at a snail's pace in little mahogany boxes from one Councillor's house to another. 'The system involved,' says a former Member of Council, 'an amount of elaborate minute writing which seems now hardly conceivable. The Gover-nor-

General and the Council used to 'perform work which would now be disposed of by an Under-Secretary.'

Lord Canning, the first Viceroy under the Crown, found that, if he was to raise the administration to a higher standard of promptitude and efficiency, he must put a stop to this. He remodelled the Government "into the semblance of a Cabinet, with himself as President." Each Member of the Supreme Council practically became a minister at the head of his own Department—or the "Initiating Member" of Department responsible for its ordinary business, but bound to lay important cases before the Viceroy, whose will forms the final arbitrament in all great questions of policy in which he sees fit to exercise it. Lord Mayo, besides his duties as President of the Council and final source of authority in each of the seven Departments, was in his own person Foreign Minister and Minister of Public Works. The more personal duties of the Viceroy divided themselves into three branches. Every week he prsonally met, in the first place, each of his Chief Secretaries; in the second place, his Viceregal or Executive Council; and in the third place, his Legislative Council.

Lord Mayo was a rigid economist of time. Each day had its own set of duties, and each hour of it brought some appointment or piece of work mapped out beforehand. He rose at daybreak, but could seldom allow himself the Indian luxury of an early ride, and worked alone at his 'boxes' till breakfast at 9-30. At 10, his Private Secretary came to him with a new accumulation of boxes, and with the general work of the day carefully

laid out. There after his Military Secretary (an officer of his personal staff, and distinct alike from the Military Secretary to the Government of India, and from the great Departments of the Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General under the Commander-in-Chief) placed before him in the same manner special questions connected with the army. By 11 Lord Mayo had settled down to his boxes for the day, worked at them till luncheon at 2; and afterwards till just enough light remained to allow him a hard gallop before dark. On his return, he again went to his work till dinner at 8-30; snatching the half-hour for dressing to play with his youngest boy, or to perch him on his toilet-table and tell him stories out of the Old Testament and Shakespeare.

The strong individuality which marked his measures produced a corresponding sense of personal responsibility in his own mind. Amid difficulties and trials, this feeling sometimes pressed upon him with a weight under which even his robust nature heaved. 'It is a hard task,' he wrote to a friend during the first dark months of his grapple with deficit; 'but I am determined to go through with it, though I fear bitter opposition where I least expected it. I have put my hand to the work, and I am not going to turn back; and I will kill, before I die, some of the abuses of Indian Administration.'

One branch of the internal administration in which Lord Mayo took a deep interest was prison discipline. On the one hand, he was resolved that the discipline of Indian jails should be a really punitive discipline. On the other hand, he wrote, 'You have no right to inflict

a punishment of death upon a prisoner who has only been sentenced for a term of years or for life;' by keeping him in a disease-stricken jail. Among the most distressing and clamant cases which came before him was the great Convict Settlement in the Andaman Islands, in which the mortality amounted in 1867 to over 101 per thousand.

He found that a few English officials with a handful of soldiers were holding down, in an island isolated group, 600 miles across the sea from Bengal, the 8000 worst criminals of Northern India. Many of them came from the fierce frontier races; most of them were life prisoners, reckless, with no future on this earth. The security of such a settlement depends on clear regulations, exact subordination among the officials, and strict discipline among the convicts. The inquiries conducted under Lord Mayo's orders in 1871, disclosed the absence of these essentials of safety.

On the 24th January, 1872, the Earl of Mayo left Calcutta on his cold weather tour. His purpose was first to visit Burma, next to call at the Andamans on the return passage across the Bay of Bengal, and then to inspect the Province of Orissa. In each of these three places, weighty questions of internal policy demanded his presence. After completing his work in Burma, he cast anchor off Hopetown in the Andamans at 8 A. M. on the 8th February, 1872.

Lord Mayo landed immediately after breakfast, and during a long day conducted a thorough inspection of Viper and Ross Islands, where the worst characters were

quartered. The official inspection was concluded about 5 o'clock. But Lord Mayo desired, if possible, to create a sanitorium, where the fever patients might shake off their clinging malady. He thought that Mount Harriet, a hill rising to 1116 feet a mile and a half inland from the Hopetown jetty, might be suitable for this purpose. It was a stiff climb, but Lord Mayo at first objected to riding while the rest were on foot. When half way up, he stopped and said: "It's my turn to walk now; one of you get on." At the top he carefully surveyed the capabilities of the hill as a sanitorium. He thought he saw his way to improve the health of the Settlement, and with the stern task of re-organisation to make a work of humanity go hand in hand. 'Plenty of room here,' he cried, looking round on the island group, 'to settle two millions of men.' Presently he sat down, and gazed silently across the sea to the sunset. Once or twice he said quietly, 'How beautiful.' Then he drank some water. After another long look to the westward, he exclaimed to his Private Secretary: 'It's the loveliest thing I think I ever saw:' and came away.

The descent was made in close order, for it was now dark. About three-quarters of the way down, torch-bearers from Hopetown met the viceroy and his attendant group of officials and guards. Two of his party who had hurried forward to the pier saw the intermittent gleam of the torches threading their way through the jungle; then the whole body of lights issued by the bridle-path from the woods, a minute's walk from the jetty. The *Glasgow* frigate lay out on the left with her long line of

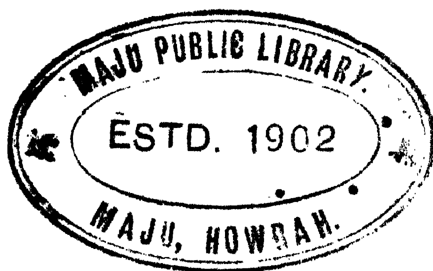
lights low on the water; the *Scotia* and *Dacca*, also lit up beyond her: another steamer, the *Nemes* is was coaling nearer to Hopetown, on the right. The ships' bells had just rung seven. The launch with steam up was whizzing at the jetty stairs; a group of her seamen were chatting on the pier-end. It was now quite dark, and the black line of the jungle seemed to touch the water's edge.

The Viceroy's party passed some large loose stones to the left at the head of the pier, and advanced along the jetty; two torch-bearers in front, the light shining strongly on the tall form of Lord Mayo, in a grey tussa-silk coat, close between his Private Secretary and the Superintendent; the Flag-lieutenant of the *Glasgow* and a Colonel of Engineers a few paces behind, on left and right; the armed police between them, but a little nearer the Viceroy. The Superintendent turned aside, with Lord Mayo's leave, to give an order about the morning's programme, and the Viceroy stepped quickly forward before the rest to descend the stairs to the launch. The next moment the people in the rear heard a noise as of 'the rush of some animal' from behind the loose stones: one or two saw a hand and a knife suddenly descend in the torch-light. The Private Secretary heard a thud, and instantly turning round, found a man 'fastened like a tiger' on the back of the Viceroy.

They carried him down into the steam launch, some silently believing him dead. Others, angry with themselvs for the bare surmise, cut open his coat and vest, and stopped the wound with hastily torn strips of cloth and the palms of their hands. Others kept rubbing

his feet and legs. Three supported his head. The assassin lay tied and stunned a few yards from him. As the launch shot on in the darkness, eight bells rang across the water from the ships. When it came near the frigate, where the guests were watching for dinner, and jesting about some fish which they had caught for the meal, the lights in the launch were suddenly put out, to hide what was going on in it. They lifted Lord Mayo gently to his cabin: when they laid him down in his cot, every one saw that he was dead.

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